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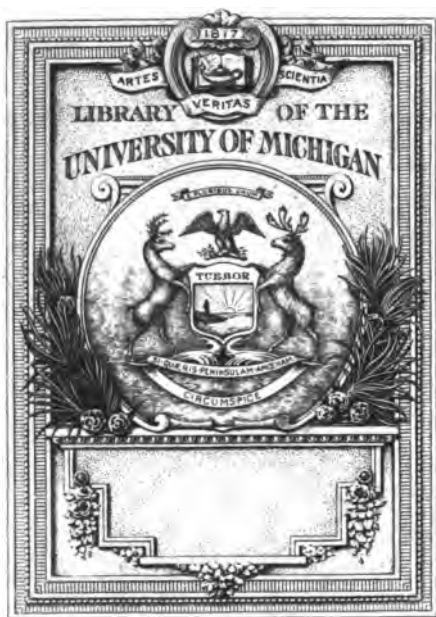
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MEMOIRS

OF

FATHER RIPA, *Medico*

47341
DURING

THIRTEEN YEARS' RESIDENCE AT THE COURT OF PEKING
IN THE SERVICE OF THE EMPEROR OF CHINA;

WITH

AN ACCOUNT OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE COLLEGE FOR THE EDUCATION
OF YOUNG CHINESE AT NAPLES.

SELECTED AND TRANSLATED FROM THE ITALIAN,

By FORTUNATO PRANDI.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

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P R E F A C E.

THE following pages are a condensation of the most interesting portions of Father Ripa's 'History of the Chinese College,' published at Naples in 1832, in three volumes octavo. For any amusement or instruction that the reader may derive from their perusal, he will be indebted to Sir Woodbine Parish. But for him, Father Ripa's work, like those of several other modern Italian historians, of far greater merit, would never, perhaps, have been known in this country. Sir Woodbine Parish had himself intended to publish it in English, connected with the map of Peking, which he obtained at the Chinese College at Naples. Other more important avocations having prevented him from executing his intention, the task has fallen to the share of the actual translator. The original title has not been retained, because the present abridgment is more intended to give the passages relating to China, than those concerning the institution to which the Italian work is especially devoted.

It may perhaps not be uninteresting to the English reader to know that it was from Father Ripa's foundation that Lord Macartney obtained two interpreters for his embassy.

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FATHER RIPA'S

RESIDENCE AT THE COURT OF PEKING.

CHAPTER I.

Early Life—An Impressive Sermon—Duty of a Confessor—Resolution to enter the Church—Mysterious Vision—Order to proceed to China—Departure for Rome—Sojourn in the Ecclesiastical College.

IN the year 1700, as I was strolling one day about the streets of Naples in search of amusement, I came to the open space before the Viceregal Palace just at the moment when a Franciscan friar, mounted on a bench, began to address the people. I was only eighteen; but though so young, I was then leading a life which I could scarcely describe without shocking the reader. Amid all my vices, however, it was fortunate for me that I always listened with pleasure to religious discourses, not indeed with a view to derive any profit or instruction from them, but merely out of curiosity. The preacher took for his text these words of the prophet Amos, "For three transgressions of Damascus, and for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof;" and he proved that there were a certain number of sins which God would forgive, but that beyond that number there is no salvation for any one. From the proofs he passed to the morality of the doctrine, and here he brought in the beautiful illustration of the scales, which, when equally balanced, the smallest addition will weigh down. "Thus," said the worthy father, "if when our sins are equal to our counterpoise we commit one more offence, the beam on which our lot is weighed will turn and fix our eternal perdition; and as we do not know when our scales are balanced, if we transgress at the risk of such a punishment, we deserve condemnation."

This was not to me a mere figurative illustration, it was a gleam of heavenly light by which I perceived the dangerous path I was treading ; and methought I saw God himself menacing me from above, while below the torments of hell lay ready to receive me. On recovering from the horror I felt at the sight of the danger to which I had so long thoughtlessly exposed myself, I ardently thanked the Almighty for thus recalling me to Himself, and full of repentance, I resolved to devote the remainder of my life entirely to his service. When the Franciscan had finished his impressive sermon, to strengthen my purpose I proceeded at once to the church of the great apostle of India, St. Francis Xavier, which was close by ; and there, having found a Jesuit, who, by the will of God, was preaching on the same subject in the presence of the Host, I had the most favourable opportunity of fulfilling my object.

At dusk I returned home, and as I began to consider how I might best serve God, I felt inspired with a desire not only to enter the Church, but to do something more than this, though in spite of unceasing meditations I was unable to discover what. I thought of entering several religious orders, but none came up to my aspirations. I imagined that I should find peace in the performance of the duties of a secular priest ; but this did not satisfy the cravings of my heart : as one who is hungry, after eating a moderate portion of delicate food, still longs for something more. This *something more* was, however, exactly what I could not discover ; but by degrees I conceived a strong wish to found a new community of regular priests, although I was far from comprehending the character of such an institution. I said nothing of this to any confessor, because I was so ignorant in religious matters, that I did not know that even in the path of virtue it is necessary to have a guide. In this state of ignorance I lived for eight months, now confessing to one priest and now to another, without ever meeting with any one who took any pains to direct my way. A fault, by the bye, for which those confessors who merely listen to sinners without endeavouring to point out to them the vocation for which they are fitted, will have to account to God. Fortunately, however, I made the acquaintance of Don Niccolo Vinaccia, who recommended me to read the *Filotea* of St. François de Sales, by which I per-

ceived the necessity of having a spiritual guide ; and on the 10th of May, 1701, at the suggestion of Don Niccolo, I confessed for the first time to Father Antonio Torres, of the Order of the Pious Labourers, to whom I avowed my desire to enter the Church, and implored his advice. This benevolent man, as was his custom, had held me clasped in his arms ; but on hearing my prayer, he suddenly drew back, opening his arms, and fixed his eyes on me for some time without uttering a word. Then embracing me again with transport, but without asking any question, as confessors are wont to do in order to ascertain the vocation of their penitents, he exclaimed, " Yes, my son ; take holy orders, and henceforward I will be your father in God ;" and happy has it been for me that he has been my spiritual director ever since.

With the approbation of this holy father, I entered the Church on the 26th of the same month ; and having been enrolled in the congregation of the Holy Mary of Purity, I began the duties of active life, doing my best to promote the salvation of those around me. But I felt all the time that I was called to something else, and my desire to institute a new religious community became more and more strong. To the glory of God, for it is our duty to acknowledge his wonderful works, I must relate what then befell me with reference to this institution.

In consequence of indisposition, I was obliged to go with another young priest, who was very ill, to the Montagnola for change of air. We remained there about six months. My companion was an excellent young man, and as I devoted some attention to my spiritual improvement, I may venture to say that, thanks to his good example, my time was piously spent. One day, as my friend was at prayers in his room, and I in mine, I was seized with an ardent desire to retire to some place where I might acquire the knowledge necessary to an ecclesiastic, when all at once a clear and audible voice thrilled through my soul, saying, " to Rome."

I was struck with awe ; and whilst, absorbed in thought, I wondered at the mysterious sound, a motley multitude of things floated before my mind, not in corporeal or spiritual forms, but in a purely intellectual manner which I cannot describe. It was then impressed upon my mind that the institution I was so

anxious to establish was to consist of secular priests, wholly removed from worldly cares, and exclusively devoted to prayer, study, and preaching; and that in order that nothing might divert them from these pursuits, another class of ecclesiastics, like the Pious Labourers, should minister to their temporal wants. That, as to dress, those of the first class should wear a habit different from that of any other religious community; with no hood or cap on their head, but with some other covering; not with shoes or sandals, but shod in another fashion. This vision was short, but it made such an impression on my mind, that although it took place more than thirty years ago, I remember it as distinctly as if it had happened but yesterday.

On the completion of my twenty-third year, by the express command of Father Torres, I repaired to Salerno to be ordained. The day before my departure, when I went to take leave of him, he bade me on my return begin my novitiate as Pious Labourer; and although I answered that I felt no inclination to such a vocation, he insisted on my obeying him unreservedly. I therefore conformed to his will; but whilst, as I journeyed on, my mind dwelt on my being thus obliged to become a Pious Labourer, though I had the greatest veneration for that religious order, I felt so sad and depressed, that I could scarcely walk. However, being determined to obey Father Torres, I waited upon him as soon as I came back to Naples, and requested an order of admission to my novitiate. He had returned from Rome only the day before, and was surrounded by a number of his penitents. The moment he saw me, he said, "Good morning to you, good man; prepare for China."

I was surprised, and wondered what he could mean; for I had never heard any thing about China. Perceiving this, Father Torres added, that China was a nation of idolaters, who, from want of labourers in the Gospel, lived in the darkness of heathenism; that Clement XI., the reigning Pope, with a view to remedy this evil, had recently attached to the Propaganda a college for the instruction of European ecclesiastics in the Chinese language, that they might carry the light of the Holy Gospel to those benighted heathens, and that accordingly his Holiness had commanded him to send some of his penitents to Rome for that purpose.

As Father Torres spake these words, the mist which filled my mind vanished, and I now, greatly to my wonder, perceived that this was the very service to which God had called me. When we were left alone, I asked him whether he had spoken in jest or in earnest, as in the latter case I would go to China willingly. "Whether you will or not, to China you shall go," he replied.

"How then can I pass my novitiate with you, if I am to enter the college at Rome in order to go to China?" said I.

At first he did not understand me, for he had forgotten that he had ordered me to become a Pious Labourer; but after I had reminded him of this, he answered, "Pious Labourer! Pious Labourer! God has destined you for the Chinese mission."

This made me perfectly happy; and I walked home so elevated in spirit, that I scarcely felt the ground I trod on.

On the 26th of November, 1705, I set out for Rome with Don Gennaro Amodei, a Calabrian priest, who also had been proposed by Father Torres for the Chinese mission. We reached our destination on the 30th, and were kindly received by our superiors, and by the Pope, to whom they presented us. Our apartments in the Propaganda not being yet ready, we took up our quarters at an inn; but as it is not decorous for ecclesiastics to dwell in places of this description, and moreover, as we had no money to pay the landlord, we resolved to seek refuge in the Ecclesiastical College, erected by Innocent XII. for the purpose of rescuing houseless priests from the dangers of lodging-houses. We still however had to pay about twenty shillings a month for our board and lodging; and as we had nothing towards making up this sum but the five pence a-day we got for the mass, I was obliged, with great shame and reluctance, to ask alms in order to provide the remainder.

That I might reduce my expenses as much as possible, I mended my own clothes, washed my only shirt at night, and even slept on a mat; owing to which I have been dreadfully tormented with rheumatism ever since. In this distress we petitioned his holiness for some assistance, and he allowed us ten shillings a month, which was just enough to meet our wants. Being aware how important it is to lead a methodical life, during our stay in the Ecclesiastical College we apportioned different hours of the day for study, prayer, and all other occupations;

and in the evening, after a rigid self-examination, we confessed to one another, Don Amodei kneeling before me, accusing himself of his faults and temptations, and kissing my feet; and I afterwards going through the same holy duty with him. Don Amodei was a most excellent and pious young man, gifted with every virtue, and distinguished by a purity of mind which he guarded with the greatest solicitude; but unfortunately he sometimes allowed his religious zeal to carry him too far, insisting, in spite of his very delicate constitution, in living on bread and water, and subjecting himself to all sorts of mortifications.

CHAPTER II.

Pilgrimage to Loreto—Roman Police—Inhospitable Monks—St. Chiara's Heart—Return to Rome—Mission to Capradosso—Vendetta—Extraordinary Reconciliation.

ONE day about this time, as we were praying before the Host, beseeching God to grant that our apartments in the Propaganda might soon be ready, we were both inspired with a fervent desire to go on a pilgrimage to Loreto, for the purpose of imploring the favour of the Holy Virgin. After obtaining the permission of our superiors, and the benediction of the Pope, we set out on our journey.

The first day of our pilgrimage, as we approached Castel Gandolfo singing canticles, at which Don Amodei was very expert, a gentleman on horseback overtook us, and being edified at our behaviour, pressed us to make use of his horse. On our resolutely declining the offer, he insisted that we should at least stop at his house. We did so, and he gave us a sumptuous supper and comfortable accommodation.

We were not so fortunate the next evening at Civita Castellana, in the hospital destined for pilgrims, where we could obtain no supper, and had to sleep on a paillasse, without sheets or blankets.

At another place on the road, of which I have forgotten the name, we entered a shop to buy some food; and whilst we waited to be served, we saw a man cautiously open a closet, and place two pistols in it, unobserved by the master. Shortly afterwards some constables came in, went straight to the closet, took out the pistols, and arrested the cheesemonger on the pretence of his keeping prohibited arms. The poor fellow repeatedly protested his innocence, but to no purpose. They handcuffed him, and took him to prison. Having witnessed the transaction, we immediately offered, in the presence of the constables, to give evidence in behalf of the prisoner, but they took no heed of what

we said. Our words, however, had more weight with the prelate who governed the place, and the injured man was released, whereupon he came, with all his family, to thank us for having, by the interposition of God, saved him from such imminent danger.

At the beginning of our pilgrimage we walked about twenty miles a-day; but as Don Amodei grew weaker and weaker, and was in a state of constant fever, we spent forty days in a journey which otherwise might have been completed in less than a fortnight. Besides his baggage and my own, I was often obliged to support him, hanging by my neck, for considerable distances, especially up-hill. At last he became so faint, that in a wood near Rieti he dropped to the ground, saying that he could no longer continue his journey, although we were on level ground, and only two miles from a place of rest. My distress may be easily conceived, and I was under the necessity of leaving him alone whilst I went for assistance. Not far from the spot I found a cottage, but the moment I knocked at the door I was surrounded by dogs, who growled and barked at me with great fury; and a peasant who was close by, taking me for a thief, also assailed me with stones and abuse. I had the greatest difficulty in persuading him that I was no thief, but a priest who came to implore his aid in behalf of a dying man. At last I succeeded, and he came with a donkey to convey my friend to a convent, on arriving at the gate of which we had to ring the bell for half an hour before any one appeared. A monk then came out in a rage, and exclaiming, "Oh! it is you, is it, who have been ringing so much?" he banged the door in our face.

We were thunderstruck at such treatment; and while consulting what we should do, the wretch of a monk again opened the door, giving us, in an unglazed plate, a few drops of vinegar, with two pieces of bread, so black that I had never seen the like. On my saying that we were provided with victuals, but implored shelter, he interrupted me with saying, "You may take it, if you please;" and again slamming the door in our faces, he disappeared.

We then went into the church of the convent to recommend ourselves to God, and await in prayer some effect of his divine providence. Fortunately some very humane and devout ladies

came in, who, seeing the exhausted state of my companion, began to talk with us, expressing deep compassion, and asked why we did not go into the convent for refreshment and repose. Whilst I answered their questions, there appeared in the presbytery a friar with a candle in his hand, whom those ladies pointed out to us as the Father Guardian of the convent. I immediately went up to him, and begged him to grant us shelter for the night; but the moment he perceived me he ran away, as though I had been the Evil One, without paying the least attention to my words. Shortly afterwards, however, the same monk who had treated us so roughly at the door came to take us to a cell on the ground-floor, where he gave us a miserable supper. On our telling him that we had some food in our wallet, and that we only wanted a light by which to read our prayers, he reprimanded us severely for our supposed neglect in having delayed the performance of our duty to God until it was so late.

We had not yet recovered from our mortification when it pleased God to comfort us by sending to our cell a page and a servant from the ladies who had spoken to us, bringing with them an excellent supper. Immediately after our meal I went to thank our benefactresses for their charity; and I found them under the porch of the church, seated at a sumptuous table, making good cheer with the father guardian and some other friars of his order. The next morning before our departure, we were desirous of expressing our gratitude to his reverence for the hospitality he had granted us, but although we searched about the convent for a long time, we could not find either him or any of his friars.

After suffering many hardships, which I will not stop to detail, we at last arrived at Loreto, where we visited the Holy House and various other sanctuaries. Among these, that of Montefalco deserves particular notice; for it contains the corpse of St. Chiara in such a state of preservation that her hands and face are as fresh and ruddy as though she were alive. We adored her heart, which was cut open, and in which, with great astonishment, we observed, in bas-relief, the implements of the passion of our Lord, and our Lord himself on the cross. I must not omit to say, that whilst I lay under a rock, awaiting my turn for reading mass in the chapel where St. Francis of Assisi re-

ceived from God the remission of his sins, a large serpent fell from above close to my face, but immediately crawled away without doing me any harm.

On our return to Rome, after a pilgrimage of forty days, Don Amodei, being more dead than alive, went into the infirmary of the Ecclesiastical College; and after a severe illness, the physicians sent him to Naples to recover his health.

Being left alone in Rome, I applied myself assiduously to the study of moral theology; and at Lent, after passing the examination required, I was sent to preach at Capradosso. Among various edifying cases which I witnessed in the course of my mission, the following shows how God, in his ineffable goodness, was pleased, by means of my youthful ardour, to compose a deadly feud which distracted a whole family:—

An old man of that place, with six of his sons, had for several years sought the life of a relative who had murdered his seventh son. Neither the exhortations of several ecclesiastics nor the authority of Cardinal Barberini and other distinguished personages who had interposed, had been sufficient to reconcile them. The unfortunate murderer wandered day and night about the mountains and forests to escape from his pursuers. Various persons informed me of this circumstance, and solicited me to do my utmost to pacify the family. The fugitive himself, accompanied by several of his friends, all in arms, came down from the mountains under cover of the night, to entreat me to the same effect.

I waited till Easter, when I knew that his uncle and cousins would come to confession. The latter did, one after the other, come to my feet, and I exhorted them to peace. They all replied that they bore no hatred in their hearts to the assassin, and that they were ready to forgive him, if the permission of their father, in whose power they were, could be obtained. Last of all, the father came to confession; and after I had admonished him at great length, he told me that he did not entertain any resentment against his nephew, but that he wished justice to take its course. I at once understood his object in this subterfuge, and therefore commanded him to repeat the Lord's Prayer, which he did, not suspecting my intentions. When he came to the words, "And forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that

trespass against us," I desired him to explain their force and meaning; whereupon, by the Divine grace, he burst into a flood of tears. Having recovered his composure, he promised to pardon and embrace his nephew, for the love of Jesus Christ, the first time he should meet him. As, however, I feared that his resolution might be a transient ebullition rather than a holy purpose, I sent secretly to the fugitive nephew, directing him to conceal himself in the belfry on a certain evening, when I intended to preach upon the subject of love to our enemies, and if in the course of the sermon I should call him, fearlessly to come forward, accompanied by the rector and his other friends.

By the divine assistance, my efforts were crowned with the happiest results. At about dusk, when I had finished my sermon upon love to our enemies, at which all the injured family were present, I intimated that the women might go home in peace, and that the men only should remain to do penance. I then caused the door of the church to be locked, and in a short discourse I exhorted them to self-castigation. After this, the crucifix, as I had previously arranged, was brought out of the sacristy, and borne between two lighted torches. At the same time I repeated the most cogent arguments which I had used in my sermon, and urged the congregation to put in practice what they had heard, pardoning each other, and embracing in sign of peace. Many who had been at variance then came and embraced each other at my feet. Such was the emotion and the fervour of the congregation that they were all in tears. Perceiving among them the uncle of the assassin, I called him by name, and he immediately came and threw himself at my feet. I asked him in the presence of all whether he really forgave his nephew, and he replied in a deliberate tone that he did. I inquired if he promised this in the name of Jesus Christ, whose image he then held in his hand; and he answered in the affirmative. I made him repeat this several times in a loud voice. Then I blessed him, his family, and all his concerns, in the name of our Lord, for the great satisfaction he gave to God, and to all the court of Heaven, by granting pardon, for the love of Christ, to the man by whom he had been injured; and finally I asked him, if at that moment his culpable nephew were on his knees to ask forgiveness, for the love of Christ, how he would act? He re-

plied that he would gladly take him to his heart. I then made the signal agreed upon, and the offender was conducted by the rector into my presence. As soon as he was seen approaching, the sobbing of the people increased. The old man was greatly surprised at this, for he stood with his back to the entrance, and did not see his nephew, who, however, the next moment fell at his feet, craving pardon, for the love of Christ. At first the old man stood motionless, struck with surprise. He seemed bewildered by the extraordinary scene, and knew not what to do. I endeavoured to calm him; and, with the crucifix in my hand, I reiterated my arguments to induce him to forgiveness, till, urged by the grace that was working in him, he suddenly embraced his nephew, kissed and pardoned him, and gave him his benediction. His example was instantly followed by his sons, who, one after the other, sobbing and weeping, embraced their cousin, while all the congregation, bathed in tears, blessed and praised God.

CHAPTER III.

Departure for China—The Pope's farewell Gifts—Scene at Bologna—Awful Visitation at Brixen—Detention at Cologne—Disguise—Arrival in London—English Women—Drawing Lots for a Saint.

SHORTLY after my return to Rome the rector of the Ecclesiastical College died, and I was appointed to succeed him. A few months after I had entered upon my new office the Pope received the joyful intelligence that M. de Tournon, whom he had sent to China as apostolical commissioner, had been graciously welcomed by the Emperor; upon which his Holiness resolved to send him the cardinal's hat by some missionaries. He therefore appointed Dr. Funari, who was the parish-priest of San Giovanni de Fiorentini, in Rome; Father Fabri Bonjour, an Augustine friar of Toulouse; Father Ceru, of the Chierici Minori of Lucca; Father Perrone, of the Order of the Mother of God; my humble self, then a secular priest from Evoli, in the diocese of Salerno; and a gentleman of the name of Guarmani, who was to accompany us as a surgeon.

Don Amodei, who was also a secular priest, was not included in the list, in consequence of his being absent and in ill health; but the moment I informed him of this, he sent to Cardinal Sacripante, the president of the Propaganda, a letter written with more tears than ink, and so eloquently expressed that the Pope—who, as well as the Cardinal, was greatly moved by it—immediately directed him to join us. Upon his arrival, we were all admitted to kiss the Pope's foot and to receive his paternal benediction. After having solemnly exhorted us zealously to fulfil our divine mission, his Holiness gave to each of us a silver medal, with the indulgence *in articulo mortis*. He granted us also the faculty of gaining plenary indulgence every month; the favour of a privileged altar once a-week; the right of blessing five thousand medals, crucifixes, or rosaries, with the usual indulgences; the privilege of confessing to one another during our voyage

the power of giving plenary indulgences *in articulo mortis*, not attached to a crucifix, which might be lost, but to our own persons; and, lastly, the authority of deciding by majority of votes all questions and doubts that might arise during our journey. The cardinal's hat and the instructions of the secretary of state were intrusted to Dr. Funari, with the injunction, that in the event of his being prevented from fulfilling his mission, they should be confided to the next senior member of the mission.

On the 13th of October we set out for London, in the hope of obtaining our passage in one of the East India Company's ships. At Bologna we went to the residence of a personage of great distinction, and presented to him some letters of introduction written in the name of his Holiness by the secretary of state: this individual, after reading the letters, asked, with ill-dissembled reluctance, what sort of assistance we wanted; and Dr. Funari gave him to understand that some alms to defray the expenses of our mission would be gratefully received. At the mere word alms he flew into a passion, and, in a manner not at all becoming his station, loaded us with abuse, and drove us out of the room as if we were impostors. I firmly remonstrated against this treatment, asserted our respectability, and assured him that we had only followed our instructions, as he must have perceived by the letters; and that we should immediately report to our superiors the treatment we had received. We had scarcely returned to our inn before he sent us twenty sequins (about seven pounds), with a message that he was fully satisfied as to our respectability, and that we need not write to Rome.

From Bologna we went, through Mantua, to the famous city of Trent, where I heard for the first time the sound of the German language. Advancing farther, across the lofty mountains of the Tyrol, we came to Egra, a small town in which they use glass windows which do not open, and live in rooms lined with boards and warmed with stoves. The next day we arrived at Bolzano, where they bury their dead outside the church, in the open air, fixing at the head of the grave a wooden cross, on which hangs a vessel of holy water. Two days after this we reached Brixen: here, whilst celebrating mass in the church of the Capuchins, Dr. Funari was seized with a fit of apoplexy, and, to the great consternation and grief of us all, fell flat to the ground.

In consequence of this awful visitation he was obliged to return to Italy, leaving the cardinal's hat and the accompanying papers in the care of Father Fabri Bonjour.

On the 15th of November we arrived at Inspruck, a small but beautiful town, containing, among other curious things, some bronze tombs, which are very remarkable. We then proceeded to Metvolt, and thence to Augsburg, which we reached on the 19th, and where for the first time in my life I saw a priestess, or wife of one of their Protestant ministers. The next morning we started for Frankfort, where we arrived in safety, after seven days' journey. The houses which we saw on the road are built without foundations, the lower part of the walls consisting of stones and mortar, while the remainder of the building is a compound of mud and straw, held together by beams with small pieces of wood woven between them. The church steeples are built in the shape of round pyramids with very sharp taper points, the lower part being in brick or stone work, the upper in wood.

From Frankfort we went by water to Cologne; and here we received letters from the secretary of state, informing us that, as the ship which was about to leave London for China 'could not take us all on board, his holiness commanded Amodei and me to go back to Rome. But as we heard at the same time that this alleged deficiency of accommodation was a pretence, and that, in reality, our recall had been caused by the calumnious reports of one of our companions, we determined to vindicate our conduct, and await at Cologne for further orders. It is impossible to conceive how miserable I felt on being thus excluded from the mission which I had joined with such ardent joy. My nights were perfectly sleepless; during the day I did nothing but weep, and was often obliged, whilst dining with my friends, to quit the table and retire to my room to give vent to my grief. Fortunately, Dr. Funari, whom divine providence, in its inscrutable designs, had separated from us so unexpectedly, arrived at Rome most opportunely, and defended our cause.

Having, in consequence of his representations, received permission to continue our journey, we disguised ourselves as laymen, and on the 23rd of December left Cologne for the Hague. Here we found our companions, who, having been discovered to

be missionaries, were refused passports for England by the English ambassador. By the assistance of the Bishop of Munster, to whom we were recommended by the Pope, Father Perrone, Amodei, and I succeeded in obtaining passports under assumed names; and, on the 3rd of January, 1708, we sailed from Rotterdam for England. On the 7th we arrived safely in London; and the next morning we hastened to wait upon Signor Cornaro, the Venetian ambassador, who received us with the greatest kindness. Without losing any time, we went with Father Perrone and a gentleman of the embassy to solicit the East India Company for a passage to China in one of their ships; but, as it was strictly prohibited to take out any ecclesiastics, the Ambassador sent to inform the Company that we were going to enter the service of the Emperor of China—Don Amodei as a mathematician, I as a painter, and Father Perrone as our servant. It was indeed amusing to see Father Perrone standing before us two, hat in hand, showing us all the marks of respect which servants are wont to pay their masters. The directors, however, being wary men, did not appear satisfied with this account, and said they could believe that Amodei and I were laymen, but not Father Perrone. His peculiar carriage and behaviour, his eyes cast down, his hands continually in his sleeves, and other signs, induced them to think that he must be an ecclesiastic. They then asked the gentleman of the embassy whether Perrone was a Jesuit, and on his answering that he was ready to swear to the contrary, they granted us permission to sail in one of their ships, which bore the name of Donegal, and was bound for Bengal.

After we had thus obtained our passage, our three companions, Fabri, Ceru, and Guarmani, who had joined us from Holland, in like manner presented their petitions; but, in spite of the interest of the ambassador, they were several times rejected. Meanwhile Guarmani refused to proceed, on the pretence that he was ill; and the ambassador, having submitted that permission was required for only two more, leave was at length granted.

While we waited for the day on which the Donegal was appointed to sail, the news arrived that King James (the Pretender), brother to the reigning Queen Anne, had left France, with fifteen ships of war, for the purpose of recovering the king-

dom of Scotland, from which his father, James the Second, had been forced to fly on account of his religion, and to seek refuge in France. Queen Anne immediately gave orders that no English vessel should go out of port, under a heavy penalty; and that all Catholics then in the capital should be put in confinement. Under these circumstances, the Ambassador desired us to lose no time in going on board our vessel, as we had previously obtained the passport, as well as the Queen's permission, and that of the Company.

On the 11th of February we were hastily conveyed in a small boat to the Donegal, which was lying at anchor in the river Thames, at about twenty miles' distance. The Donegal was only of 180 tons burden, and the berths were all full, there being only the number required for the officers of the ship. In consequence of this, I had my bed immediately under the beam of the rudder, which, being violently moved from side to side by the wheel, greatly terrified me in my sleep. But the greatest inconvenience that I suffered, during the whole voyage, arose from being always exposed to the view and the insolence of the sailors, who were continually in this quarter of the vessel, eating, drinking, singing, and playing, or else cleaning their arms, making cartridges, and pursuing other employments of the same nature. My bed being laid exactly over the powder-bin, I almost every day found it thrown into some corner, under the guns, casks, or cables; often soiled with beer or grog, and at times even covered with vermin, some of the crew having lain upon it. I could, however, have borne this and other miseries and annoyances incident to a ship when in port, as every one should do who has resolved to undertake the life of a missionary; but that which was insufferable to me was, that close to my bed were the berths of three officers, who, during the four months we remained in the river, were frequently visited by their wives: those who know what liberties English women allow themselves, may understand what a poor missionary must endure in being obliged to remain day and night with such company. One of the women was so barefaced in her actions, that no sooner was her husband out of sight than she behaved in the most infamous manner.

All these disorderly proceedings, however, continued only during the four months in which the ship was lying at anchor;

for as soon as she had set sail, things were brought into such strict order that, comparatively, the vessel bore the appearance of a monastery.

Wishing to make choice of some tutelar saint who might be our protector during the voyage, we assembled together, and proceeded in the following manner. We agreed that each of us should write down the name of a saint upon three separate slips of paper, that these should be put into a box, and the saint whose name should first be drawn three times should be our patron. The first slip of paper drawn contained the name of St. Joseph; the second, the same name; the third, that of St. Paul; the fourth, again that of St. Joseph, who was thus declared our tutelar saint. Having thus selected our patron, we resolved to observe the following order of religious duties during the voyage. In the morning, silent prayer, religious reading, and self-examination, in private; then the recital of the Priest's Itinerary, the Litany of the Saints, a chapter out of the Martyrology, and one out of the Scriptures. On the afternoon of every Thursday and feast-day, some spiritual reading, followed by our individual observations and reflections, and by the recital of the Litany of the Virgin. In the evening, after self-examination, if any one should find that he had transgressed against a brother, he was to ask pardon in the presence of the others. On Wednesdays and Fridays, a chapter of transgressions was to be held, each confessing his sins, and praying the others, one by one, to mention whatever failings they might have perceived in him. We were also to hold meetings upon moral accidents, each speaking by turns; and whenever more than two of us were together, the Latin language was to be employed.

Lent now drew near, and we held a meeting to determine whether we should keep it or not. Our doubts upon the subject arose principally from the circumstance that, as we were still detained in the river, we had an allowance of fresh meat every day; and that, besides the inconvenience of cooking for ourselves separately, we could get nothing but salt-fish and a little soup. Fabri, Perrone, and Amodei were of opinion that we should keep it; Ceru and myself maintained the contrary. We, however, yielded to the majority; and accordingly we kept Lent for about a week; when, being convinced that the continuation

of such a diet would destroy our health, we unanimously resolved to desist. And this incident may serve as a warning to others of our profession, to regulate their excessive zeal; for certainly God does not expect us to do anything which would interrupt the execution of his direct commands. A religious life, doubtless, requires many mortifications, but these must be exercised with discretion; and it would have been a culpable imprudence in us if, by using such a regimen, we had rendered ourselves incapable of fulfilling our important duties.

We were doomed to experience still further delays and disappointments. On the evening of the 3rd of March there arrived a boat, commissioned by government to press a part of our crew for the Queen's immediate service; and other ships, lying at anchor around us, were treated in the same manner. This was done for the purpose of manning thirteen vessels which were to be sent against some ships that were hovering near the mouth of the Thames, and supposed to be French privateers. Being thus deprived of our sailors, we feared that our departure would be delayed until another year; and this fear was increased by the news that the French ships conveying the Pretender had arrived in Scotland, on which account the men-of-war which were to have convoyed us were ordered against the French fleet; and, as no merchantmen could leave port, the wide bosom of the Thames was soon crowded with vessels of every size. It seemed as if another London had arisen from the waves. A wonderful spectacle, which fully showed the great and destructive power that the English possess upon the seas.

These vexations were soon followed by an event which alarmed us all. The bishop of Ireland and his vicar-general, both friends of ours, were arrested, together with our late companion Guarmani, in the middle of the street. Through the interest of the Ambassador, the surgeon was released, but of the two ecclesiastics we heard no more. Under these critical circumstances, we naturally feared for ourselves also; and, in spite of all our miseries aboard, we never for a moment quitted the vessel. Fortunately, while we were thus afflicted, the pilot came on board with the consoling intelligence that we were immediately to depart; and on the 8th of the same month, which was Easter-day, we at last set sail, with many other ships.

CHAPTER IV.

Setting sail for Bengal—Loss of Luggage—Flying-fish—The Christening—Rigid Observance of the Sabbath—Catching a Shark—Climbing to the Main-top—The Cape of Good Hope—Conversions aboard.

OUR voyage down the Thames and through the Channel was extremely tedious. I will not attempt to state how often we were becalmed or driven back by contrary winds ; or how often after weighing anchor and setting sail we were suddenly obliged again to suspend our course, lest the violence of the tide or a gust of wind should force us against the sand-banks or shoals, which are very frequent both in the river and the Channel. Suffice it to say, that although we set sail on the 8th of April, it was not until the 4th of June that we reached the open sea. Amodei and I had soon another cause of vexation, in the loss of our luggage ; but I must say, to the glory of God, that I was soon reconciled to this privation. Nay, I fancied that I breathed more freely, as though I had been relieved from an oppressive burden ; and I felt like a bird which, freed from the constraint of a cage, can spread its wings and rove where it pleases. Methought I had just begun to be an apostle, and that, clad in a tagged cassock, with the breviary under my arm and a crucifix on my breast, I was about to wander through the vast regions of China, preaching to those blind pagans the Holy Word of God.

When we had passed the twenty-seventh degree of latitude, we began to see the flying-fish. Their wings are formed of cartilage like those of the bat, and extend to the base of the tail. When pursued by other fish they fly in shoals out of the water ; and those which alight upon ships, as they have no power to take wing again, are easily seized by the sailors. Usually they do not raise themselves more than three feet out of the water ; but sometimes, when assisted by the action of the wind, or urged by fear, they fly much higher.

On the 29th we passed the tropic of Cancer, and with a

favourable wind entered the torrid zone. It is a custom in ships going to India, that every one who for the first time passes the two tropics, the Line, and the Cape of Good Hope, must undergo the ceremony called "the Christening," or pay a fine to the crew. Those who refuse to pay become the object of much obloquy and many hard words from the sailors, and are tied astride upon a piece of wood, on which they are drawn to the end of the main-yard, and suddenly dipped thrice into the sea. If any of the ship's boats have not passed the Line before, they are fined three bottles of brandy. Our captain accordingly had to pay six bottles for two boats. As to ourselves, having been kindly informed that the crew would be satisfied with whatever we might give, we contributed two shillings each. With the money thus obtained, the men bought brandy and sugar to make punch, of which they are particularly fond. I was told that those who are accustomed to this beverage find it pleasant and wholesome.

As we drew near the Line, the heat increased very sensibly, but not so much as we had expected; for it is not true that in the torrid zone the air and the water are as hot as fire, and that every thing putrifies. The water turns blackish, and offensive to the smell; but it soon purifies itself, first however breeding little worms, which afterwards become flies, as I was assured by the surgeon and other persons on board. The captain had given orders, that whoever should be absent from prayers on Sunday, either morning or afternoon, should be deprived of his share of bread and water. There were in the ship some sailors who were Catholics, and did not attend; but they were in no way molested. It once happened that some of the sailors having stayed away two or three times, were, by command of the captain, bound fast with cords, with their arms uplifted; but one of them to escape punishment said that he was a Catholic, and the captain believing, or pretending to believe his assertion, exempted him from punishment. In the afternoon, however, the man appeared at prayers, and thus proved how easily he could deny his religion.

The principal officers played almost every day at draughts, but on the Sunday no one attempted it; and many of those who could read, might be seen during a great part of the day with the Bible in their hands. One of the company who was em-

ployed in drawing a geographical map, wishing to continue his work on a Sunday, received a severe reprimand from the captain: such is the rigour with which these heretics observe the Lord's day.

Not far from the Line, a fish was caught, which by the English is called a shark. It is frequently seen in the torrid zone; but almost always alone. We took about fifteen of these fish, the largest of which was nearly nine feet in length, and proportionably large. It was caught with a hook, baited with a great lump of salt beef, of which they are ravenously fond. As he was being drawn up out of the water his jaw was torn by the hook, and he escaped; but the bait being again thrown in, the greedy animal, which I could not help likening to a relapsed sinner, heedless of danger and in spite of the agony he must have felt from the broken jaw, again gorged the beef, and was caught. When he was pulled on deck, he made a desperate struggle, and though a large piece of flesh was cut from his back, he still continued to leap about; so that in order to dispatch him, it was necessary to strike him repeatedly on the head with a hatchet, and then divide his body into three parts. This operation required much time and labour; and those engaged in it were often in great danger.

The animal had no scales, and was covered with a dark skin like that of an eel, but as hard and rough as shagreen. When it lay on its belly, it was impossible to discover its mouth or eyes, which could only be seen when it was turned on its back. Its mouth was disproportionately large, and furnished with three rows of strong and sharp teeth. On opening its head, we found two large white lumps like curdled milk, which the sailors carefully preserved, being, as they told me, an excellent specific for the purposes of midwifery. Its blood was both cold and black. When they are of a large size the flesh is tough, and they are not good as food; but we ate of the smaller ones, and found them tender and good. The manner in which this animal swims is curious, for when it opens its wing-like fins, it appears broader than it is long. No less strange is the way in which it prepares to seize the bait, being forced to turn upon its back, as the upper jaw of its enormous mouth overhangs the under one.

The second mate told me, that he had found in the belly of

one which he had taken, the entire hide of a cow with its horns. Another officer, called Jim, assured me that a young man, while swimming round the ship, was attacked by one of these fish, which bit the middle of his body completely through, and carried away one half. To this the captain added, that he had found in the belly of one of them the body of a sailor, which had been swallowed twenty-four hours before, while he was swimming near the ship. The bones of the man were in process of digestion, and could be easily broken; but the most extraordinary circumstance was, that a knife, which the man had in his pocket, had become flexible, and could be bent like a piece of paper. In the sharks which we caught, nothing was found but some fish of about three feet in length, partly digested and partly entire.

These fish take great care of their young, but in quite a different manner from all other known animals. When they perceive them to be in danger, they open their mouths and receive them into their bellies, from which they cast them forth again when the danger is past. This the captain and others affirmed to be a fact which they themselves had witnessed.

On the 27th of July, through the favour of God and the protection of the glorious St. Anne, we crossed the Line with a prosperous gale. We unanimously joined in repeating a *Te Deum*, thanking the Lord for having granted us so easy a passage. A few days afterwards, the wind continuing propitious, we passed the Tropic of Capricorn, and thus entered the southern temperate zone. It is a custom on board English ships, that whoever for the first time climbs to the main-top, is there bound fast till he pays a fine to the sailors. It accordingly happened that the first surgeon, seeing some sailors and supercargoes climb to that part of the rigging, which they perhaps had done to ensnare him, not being aware of this custom, immediately climbed after them. He had however hardly arrived at the place, when he was suddenly seized by the sailors and secured tightly with cords, amid shouts of laughter, nor was he released till he agreed to pay the fine. The same joke was afterwards practised upon one of the supercargoes, but on his proving satisfactorily that he had already been fined in a former voyage, he was let off.

On the 6th of September we entered the port of Good Hope, which is very beautiful and of considerable extent. The country

belongs to the Dutch, but it is also inhabited by many French Protestants who were expelled from their country by Louis XIV. There were besides many Germans and Flemings, amongst whom were several Catholics who lived without any spiritual assistance. Having found them cold and wavering in the faith, I bade them all return to Europe. At the end of a fortnight we again set sail for Bengal. A few days afterwards we saw a whale; but all that I was able to learn of this huge animal was, that it could not be of the same species as that which swallowed the prophet Jonas, for its throat was so small that it would scarcely have allowed an egg to pass down it. In the Indian Ocean, the scurvy made dreadful havoc on board our ship, and though we missionaries had hitherto endeavoured to conceal our real character from the heretical company among which we had been thrown, yet on this occasion we deemed it our duty to cast off all disguise, for the eternal salvation of three of the crew, who were Catholics, but had for several years wallowed in sin, completely neglecting their religious duties.

On the 1st of January, 1709, one of the sailors, whom the scurvy had reduced to a state of extreme debility, fell into the sea. The boat was immediately lowered, and every effort made to save him; but to no avail. I was exceedingly grieved at this accident, for the poor fellow had been disposed to abjure his heresy, and we had agreed that as soon as we landed I should confess and receive him into the bosom of the true Church. We dared not do this on board, lest we might be observed, especially as, owing to my ignorance of the English language, the confession must have taken place through an interpreter, and consequently with closed doors, in order to avoid discovery and punishment. Whilst still sorrowing for this loss, I was informed that an English youth, who was the son of a great London merchant, finding himself brought nearly to his end by the same fearful disease, was also anxious to abjure his religion and receive absolution at my hands; but the Devil, who reigns among those heretics, kept them constantly about the bed of the patient until he died, leaving me bitterly disappointed.

CHAPTER V.

The Mouth of the Ganges—Ignorance of a Monk—Recruiting Missionaries—Advice to Authors—Sun-Worshippers—St. Thomas's Prophecy—The Transmigration of Souls—A Woman Exorcised.

ON the 1st of February we at last entered the mouth of the Ganges, amid general exultation. In ascending the river, my companions being still laid up with the scurvy, I one day stood alone in a corner of the vessel reading my breviary, which from prudential motives was bound in white, and looked exactly like a common book. While thus employed, I suddenly heard a voice close by, inquiring in Portuguese whether I was a priest. I turned round, and on seeing an Indian youth, about fifteen years of age, who had come to meet us with other merchants from Calcutta, I reproved him in a severe tone. Perceiving that I was afraid to discover myself, he told me that he was a Catholic: in proof of which he crossed himself and then eagerly proffered his services. It was by no accident that this youth found me out. He was sent to us by Divine Providence, which perceived that, being perfectly friendless in that country, with shattered health and exhausted funds, we could not have reached our destination without an act of its special assistance. Having learned from this young man that the Augustines, for whom we had a letter from the General of the Order, had a house in the neighbourhood, I proceeded thither as soon as we arrived at Calcutta, leaving my companions behind. On reaching their abode, I was introduced to an old monk, who was deaf, and ignorant in the extreme; but a good sort of man withal. He took my letter and affected to read it; but as he had no knowledge of Latin, he could make nothing of it. Being desirous to know the name and surname of the Father-General, he turned to me, giving himself an air as though he had understood the whole, and pointing at the signature, he said, "What villainous writing! pray de-

cipher this signature for me." When he had heard the name and surname of the Father-General, he betrayed his ignorance still more, by asking me whether he was the Father-General, or the Father-General in Chief; and I, adapting my words to his ignorance, assured him that it was actually the Father-General in Chief, whereat he expressed himself greatly pleased. He afterwards inquired whether I was really sent by St. Peter, and on being answered in the affirmative, he conceived a great opinion of me, and did all in his power to forward my wishes.

As the reader will no doubt be surprised at the ignorance of this monk, I will tell him how such things come to pass. The Most Serene Kings of Portugal being very anxious to maintain and extend our Holy faith in these regions, decreed that all their officers and sailors who on passing thither might feel disposed to take holy orders, should be allowed to follow their inclination without any impediment. The harvest being abundant and the reapers scarce, when a Portuguese vessel arrives at Goa, the missionaries of different religious orders go on board and call out aloud whether there is any one who will join them. Among such numbers there is always some one, who having in a moment of danger vowed to reform, or hoping to live more comfortably, answers the call; and thus many of those missionaries are very ignorant, and some of them very vicious, which is still worse; so that, far from contributing to the propagation of our Holy religion, they do exactly the reverse, by bringing it into contempt.

A few days afterwards we were invited to dine with Mr. Barneby, an Irish gentleman, who with great generosity had granted us three places gratis on board a ship which he was freighting for Manilla. Among various things that he did for our entertainment, he produced Leuilles' work on Bengal, and pointed out a great number of ludicrous blunders with which that book abounds. Many years afterwards I enjoyed together with several of my fellow-missionaries a similar amusement, in picking out the absurd statements inserted in a certain "Account of the Chinese Empire." Authors are thus liable to ridicule or blame, if, when writing without a due knowledge of the subject of which they treat, they adopt indiscriminately all they hear. I therefore always warn my juniors never to attempt any thing of the kind before they have lived in a country long enough to

understand it fully, or can at least obtain their information from persons who are at once enlightened and trustworthy : and in the event of their being called upon to take part in some important transaction or controversy, I recommend them to make themselves masters of the language of the country, and to take every possible precaution against erroneous impressions.

One morning as I walked beside the Ganges, I observed a considerable number of men and women bathing promiscuously, but with edifying behaviour ; and among them I saw a man who held a looking-glass in one of his hands, turning his face towards the sun, whilst with the other hand he threw the water upon his body, describing signs much like the cross, and moving his lips as though he had been praying. On inquiry, I was informed that this man was worshipping the sun, and that the others were also idolaters, who bathed in the Ganges because they believed that the waters of that river possessed the miraculous power of cleansing them from their sins.

It is well known that St. Thomas the Apostle preached the Christian religion in these parts ; and that he afterwards suffered martyrdom at Meliapor, on the coast of Coromandel. The true faith was afterwards polluted and overpowered by the sect of the Nestorians ; but upon the arrival of the Portuguese, it was restored by the labour of zealous missionaries. The Portuguese were greatly helped and encouraged in this holy work by an ancient prophecy, left by St. Thomas, and engraved upon a stone column near Meliapor, and not far from the sea. This prophecy is written in the language of the country, and imports that the " religion which he had planted would flourish again, when the sea, then forty miles distant, should reach that column ; at which time white men would come into these parts from a distant country." All this appears to have been fulfilled by the arrival of the Portuguese in India.

The missionaries reclaimed a great number of the Nestorians, and converted a still greater number of the pagans ; the Mahomedan government only forbidding attempts to convert those of its own persuasion ; it being its maxim, that no religion could be better than that of Mahomed, but that Christianity was better than idolatry.

In imitation of the Catholics, the English, the Dutch, and the

Danes have sent many of their preachers into these countries ; but the grace of God was not with them ; and this, together with their bad conduct, which so ill accorded with what they preached, prevented them from producing any good effect. Every sect of idolaters has here its temples, priests, sacrifices, ceremonies, and idols. Among the numerous errors in which these blind heathen multitudes live, a principal one is the doctrine of the transmigration of souls. They are therefore very kind to all sorts of animals and insects, which they neither kill nor eat ; but on the contrary feed them, and attend on them with great care. To such a pitch do they carry this belief, that they have hospitals for lice and fleas, and pay liberally by the hour those who will allow the insects to feed on their blood. They do this in the persuasion that after death their souls will pass into the bodies of some animal more or less loathsome, according to the good or evil actions of their past life. Above all things they highly esteem and venerate sheep and cows, from a foolish belief that they once sustained the earth upon their horns, and that a cow pacified the anger of their idol, Mahadeu, when he had resolved to destroy the universe for the sins of men ; and also because after death a great river must be passed, which can only be done by holding fast to the tail of a sheep or cow.

Influenced by this superstition, upon rising in the morning, just as we cross our foreheads with holy water, so do they soil theirs with the dung of a cow ; and thus disfigured, they walk out and transact their daily business. When we are at the point of death, we feel satisfied if we can procure the assistance of an ecclesiastic of known piety : these people on the contrary are happy if in their last moments they can lay hold of the tail of a cow, believing that they shall thus easily pass over the great river. If while they are expiring the cow happens to discharge the contents of her stomach, this circumstance is considered as an omen of their future felicity, because they suppose that it is owing to their soul being about to migrate into the body of the cow. After the death of the poor idolater, the cow is well kept, and treated with the same attention that would have been paid to the man himself had he lived. Such being the veneration they have for these animals, and particularly for the cow, when any one is converted to the Christian faith, the missionaries

always test his sincerity by obliging him to eat cow's flesh, after which his former heathen associates look upon him with horror, and will neither eat, drink, nor converse with him.

Some of the more strict of this sect form the resolution of becoming saints, and those people, in their blind ignorance of the true faith, believe that they have attained the highest point of perfection when they have passed a certain number of years in the same spot, constantly exposed to the inclemencies of the weather, and remaining always in the same posture. I myself saw one of these saints, falsely so called, who had for many years held his hands in one position, and whose nails had grown a hideous length and penetrated into his arm, so that he could not open his hands, and was waited on by others in all the necessities of nature; indeed, all these penitents are thus waited on, and those who can render them any service esteem it fortunate as securing their own future happiness.

I was informed by Father Giovanni Da Fano, that having heard of a woman who, aspiring to this imaginary sanctity, was then standing night and day in the same place, with her hands raised towards the heavens, he felt a great curiosity to see her. Being persuaded that she could not thus stand always immoveable without the assistance of the Evil One, he went close behind her, and in a low voice he commanded the malignant spirits to depart from the woman. Immediately upon this her arms dropped, and she turned round angrily, exclaiming in her own language, "Ah, demon! demon!" It was thus clearly proved that such arts as these could only be performed through the instrumentality of the great enemy of mankind, whose reign in those regions is supreme.

CHAPTER VI.

Departure for Manilla—Miraculous Escape—Preaching in earnest—Cardinal de Tournon's Imprisonment in Macao—His Death—The Population of China—Order to Paint for the Emperor.

I MIGHT relate a great deal more respecting Bengal, but as my sojourn in this country was very short, I think it best to omit doing so, lest I should state anything inaccurate. On the 22nd of February we set out for Manilla, in the ship *San Lorenzo*, which, though very small, had fifty passengers on board, twenty-three of whom were Catholics, and the remainder Mahomedans and idolaters; but six of the latter were slaves, and had been bought with a view to their being instructed and baptized. On my arrival on board the *San Lorenzo*, I again put on my cassock, throwing off the lay dress I had worn ever since my departure from Cologne, and applied myself in good earnest to reclaim the Catholics on board, who were mostly relapsed sinners, entirely heedless of their religious duties. During some stay we made in Malay, I was requested by the captains of two other ships to assist their crews in their spiritual exercises, which I did with great pleasure, and I hope with some success.

I did not go from Malay to Manilla by the *San Lorenzo*, but in *Our Lady of Guadaloupe*, having been solicited by the captain to give his sailors some religious instructions. In the Strait of Malay, not far from Singapore, we were very nearly lost, the navigation of those seas being extremely dangerous, owing to a multitude of little islands which, opposing the waves in all directions, form a labyrinth of eddies and whirlpools. One day whilst I was at my morning devotions, I suddenly heard a dreadful noise under the ship, followed by a great uproar and confusion above my head; and almost at the same moment an American merchant burst into my cabin, and, without uttering one word, seized me by the arm and led me on deck, and I then perceived that the vessel had been driven upon a rock, and was near

sinking. I immediately rushed back to my cabin, and taking the holy water, and a candle of the holy Father Innocent XI., I first blessed the sea, then broke the candle into pieces, and threw it to the waves, well knowing its miraculous powers in similar cases. Very soon after I had done this we were out of danger; and the means which God in his ineffable goodness employed to save us were, that the boat of another ship, taking one of our anchors, went and lowered it at a considerable distance, and enabled us to tow the vessel out of its fearful position.

At Manilla I was desired by the Governor to teach the principles of our faith to eight Dutch deserters who were confined in the fort; and to my great satisfaction, after forty days' exertions, they were brought to make a public abjuration of their heresy. Taking advantage of my free access to the fort, on Sundays I went about carrying the cross and singing hymns till I had collected a pretty numerous congregation, when I proceeded to teach them the Catechism, and to preach a sermon on some important point of our holy religion. After the sermon I again took the crucifix in my hand, and made a profession of repentance, imparting to each word all the warmth of my soul. Then, in order to make a deeper impression on my hearers, I untied my cassock, which for this express purpose I wore open behind, and I scourged myself till both my shoulders bled. For some time my companions ridiculed these inflictions; but when they perceived that a captain, who had never paid the least attention to my exhortations, was so touched by them that he resolved to reform, and live as a Christian, they no longer jested on the subject. Since my return to Naples I have not continued these practices—not that I should ever censure them in any one else, but merely because, in my old age, I came to understand that reasoning and prayer are the surest means of persuasion, whilst violence and exaggeration can produce at best but a blaze which no sooner appears than it vanishes.

As there was no ship at Manilla bound for China, the King of Spain having interdicted all intercourse between his subjects and the Celestial Empire, a small ship was fitted out by subscription, entirely for us, under the orders of Don Teodorico Pedrini, a missionary who had already been some years in these regions, and who for this purpose had disguised himself as a

captain. His inexperience in nautical matters nearly cost us our lives two or three times ; but in spite of all, on the night of the 2nd of January, 1710, we cast anchor in one of the numerous islands close to Macao.

The next morning Don Pedrini went on shore in his assumed garb of a captain, and in the afternoon he returned on board, accompanied by two ecclesiastics of the suite of Cardinal de Tournon. This brilliant ornament of the Sacred College had, on his first arrival in China, been received by the Emperor with unequivocal marks of esteem ; but having since refused to conform to certain enactments of the Board of Rites concerning the missionaries, he had been confined at Macao. Soon after dusk we went to pay him our respects, under the guidance of the two ecclesiastics just mentioned, eluding the vigilance of the guards by entering his prison through a private door which opened upon the sea. We were received by the holy man with extreme affability and kindness ; and after a long and deeply-interesting conversation, we retired from his presence perfectly edified.

Although the Cardinal, and about forty missionaries of different religious orders, were thus kept in confinement during the first three weeks of our stay at Macao, I and my companions were left quite free. On the morning of the 23rd of January, however, we were suddenly visited by five mandarins, who, after sending for Father Fabri, began in judicial form to ask us who we were, whence we came, what was our business, and so forth, writing down their questions and our answers. After this they went away, leaving the house guarded by Chinese soldiers, for whose accommodation a booth was instantly erected on the premises.

After duly considering the indignities to which our holy religion was exposed in his own person and in those of the missionaries, his Eminence resolved to address a remonstrance to the Viceroy at Canton, and at the same time to transmit with it a dispatch for the Emperor, announcing his promotion to the rank of Cardinal, and the arrival of six missionaries, three of whom were acquainted with mathematics, music, and painting. His Eminence was induced to take this step by the recollection that, when he was at Peking, the Emperor had asked him to write, in his name, to the Pope for some missionaries skilled in the arts

and sciences ; and he now hoped to recover the favour of the monarch by sending him Father Fabri, Don Pedrini, and myself, in the above capacities. When I heard that, by this arrangement, I was doomed to quit my favourite vocation for the purpose of cultivating an art of which I knew only the rudiments, I could not refrain from expressing my bitter dissatisfaction ; but reflecting that it was at that moment impossible to benefit the cause of our religion as a missionary, I soon resigned myself to obedience.

His Eminence bore all his troubles and privations with a Christian fortitude which was truly admirable ; but nevertheless his bodily frame being unequal to sustain the efforts of his great mind, after three months' lingering illness he went to receive the palm of martyrdom in Heaven—departing this life in the forty-first year of his age, sincerely beloved and lamented by all who knew him.

Although visions and revelations, as being liable to error and delusion, do not prove the merit of a Christian so certainly as the great virtues with which the Cardinal de Tournon was adorned, yet as the following possesses all the conditions required by the highest authorities on the subject, I cannot refrain from inserting it here :—

Bishop Mullener, a man of truly apostolical piety, was engaged in prayer in the province of Soo-chow-en, when he suddenly perceived the Cardinal before him, radiant in countenance and clad in pontifical garments, who said to him, “ I depart for Paradise,” and then disappeared. This was told by the Bishop to Father Appiani, who suffered for eighteen years in a Chinese jail for having obeyed the Cardinal rather than the Board of Rites ; and Father Appiani repeated it to me, when, as I was passing through Canton on my return to Europe, I paid him a visit in his prison.

In consequence of an order from the Emperor, very shortly after the death of his Eminence, we left Macao for Quang-chow-foo, which Europeans call Canton, from the name of the province of Quang-tong, of which it is the capital. The Chinese towns are distinguished by three different denominations, according to their size. The largest, which are fifty-eight in number, are named Foo ; the next, amounting to two hundred and forty-

seven, are called Chow ; and the smallest, which are as many as one thousand one hundred and fifty-two, bear the name of Yen. Quang-chow-foo is therefore a city of the first class. The streets are generally long and straight ; and the houses, according to the fashion prevailing all over China, have only one floor, and are enclosed by walls, without any windows outside, so that they look like nunneries. The traffic carried on here is so great as to give the place, all the year round, the appearance of a fair.

As it is almost impossible to speak of the prodigious amount of the population of Canton without being suspected of exaggeration, I will leave the reader to form his own opinion from the following incident :—On my return to London in 1724, I was invited to dine with a party of English gentlemen who wished to hear some account of my long residence in China. Among various other things, they asked me what the population of Canton and Peking really was ; and when I talked of the millions stated by the Chinese, they showed their incredulity by a burst of laughter. I told them that if they had no faith in the assertions of the Chinese, they ought at least to believe their countryman and friend, Mr. Fazacalei [Fazakerly?], who was one of the party, and who, having been five or six times in Canton, would, I had no doubt, corroborate my statement ; but as he joined them in their expressions of disbelief, my appeal to him only produced more laughter. Whereupon I proceeded to question Mr. Fazacalei in this manner :—

“ Have you ever seen Canton from the top of the great tower ? ”

“ Yes, I have,” he answered.

“ How large did you think it ? ”

“ At least twice as large as London.”

“ Which of the two cities is the most thickly inhabited ? ”

“ Canton, by far : its thoroughfares being at all times obstructed with people.”

“ Is it men or women that chiefly form the crowd ? ”

“ Oh, no woman is ever seen in the streets of Canton.”

“ Then, gentlemen,” said I, “ if London contains eight hundred thousand inhabitants, as you say, surely Canton, being twice its size, and with a male population sufficient to throng the streets, must have sixteen hundred thousand ; and if Canton

contains sixteen hundred thousand, Peking, which is far larger, and more thickly peopled, cannot fail to have at least two millions." After which they raised no further objections.

It is true that we Europeans are astonished when we are told of millions of men living within the walls of the same city; but those who have seen how all the towns, villages, hamlets, and roads of China swarm with human beings, are no longer surprised. How the population of the Celestial Empire has increased to this enormous extent it is not my object to inquire; but among the many causes which must have contributed to produce such a state of society, I will merely mention these:—First, the limited number of bonzes and bonzesses, who are devoted to the service of their idols, and, like our monks and nuns, profess celibacy; second, the prevailing custom that each man should marry as many wives as he can support, not caring what may become of the children; third, the disgrace attached to such persons as do not marry; fourth, the perfect peace that the empire has enjoyed for a long time; fifth, the total absence of contagious diseases; sixth, the extraordinary fecundity of the women; and, lastly, early marriages, which generally take place as soon as the parties have attained the age of puberty. As an illustration of the numerous progenies of the Chinese, I may add that one day while dining with the steward of the Viceroy, I asked him the number of his children. Not knowing it, he began to reckon them by name; but when he came to the eighteenth he was puzzled, and called in the servants to help him to count the remainder.

Having finished two pictures, which I had begun at Macao, for the Emperor, I presented them to the Viceroy, and he forwarded them to his Celestial Majesty, with firing of mortars, as is customary whenever anything is sent to this monarch. He then sent me an old picture representing Confucius on his knees before the idol Lee-lao-keon, which he desired me to copy for the Emperor. As I could not undertake such an idolatrous task, I immediately went to him; and he, in consequence of my being about to enter the service of the sovereign, came to meet me at the gate. The moment he saw me he asked, "Nan-lee noe, Pay-lee?" That is, whether I wished to use the ceremonies of the south, or those of the north? The ceremonies of the south are

those employed by the Chinese, and, on account of their number and style, are more fit for divine worship than for the intercourse of men; those of the north belong to the Tartars, and are few and easy, and nearly similar to ours. I therefore answered, "Pay-lee," or the ceremonies of the north. After this he immediately took me by the hand, and led me to the inner apartments, where he made me sit down at his left, which among the Tartars is the place of honour, as the right is with the Chinese. On my telling him that my religion did not permit me to copy the picture, he apologised, saying that he was not acquainted with the dogmas of our faith, and added that he would send me another. After a pretty long conversation I took leave, and he did me the honour of accompanying me back to the gate. He accordingly sent a picture; and in order to ascertain the truth of a report which had been spread, that I knew nothing of painting, he at the same time ordered me to draw the portrait of a living Chinese. He also deputed a great number of people to come and see me work, till at length perceiving that I had been slandered, he condemned the originator of the calumny to receive thirty lashes. As soon as the copy and the portrait were finished, he desired me to paint eight more; and, as if they could be blown with a breath like glass bottles, he sent next morning to inquire how many I had made.

CHAPTER VII.

Departure for Peking—The Candle-Hills—Chinese Porters—Navigation of the River Nan-kiang-huo—Sacrifices—Fishing-Birds.

IN obedience to an order received from the Emperor, the Viceroy ordered some vessels to be fitted out for the purpose of sending us to Peking at his own expense. We sailed by the Great Canal on the 27th of November; our party consisting of Fathers Tilisch and Cordero, both mathematicians, Don Pedrini, Father Fabri, and myself. In a few hours we reached Joosh-yen, which the Chinese consider as a village, because it has no courts of justice, and is subject to Canton; but in every other respect it is a large and wealthy manufacturing town. Before we had made much progress in our journey we had occasion to admire the care shown by the government of this well-regulated empire; for at every fourth mile we found a large vessel, with a piece of artillery at the prow, and a good number of soldiers on board, expressly intended to protect the canal from robbers.

After a very pleasant voyage of four days, amid fruitful fields and vast numbers of people always in sight, on either side of the river, we came to some mountains which have been cut through for the course of the canal. This part of the passage is considered dangerous, on account of its being much infested by robbers. Here we perceived on our left the celebrated hills called Lah-chew-shian—that is, candle-hills, from their close resemblance to candles. They are lofty and barren, and rise abruptly from the surrounding plain. When we arrived near the city of Hing-hien-chee-foo, some persons, pretending to come from the governor, ordered us to stop, that they might come on board to see whether our numbers agreed with the list submitted to the authorities by the commander of our convoy. The captain, sus-

pecting that they were robbers, refused to admit them ; and, as they still continued to approach, several muskets were fired into the air, to intimidate them. Upon this they turned about, but shortly afterwards they made two more attempts to board us ; being, however, received with volleys of shot, they at length went away.

After a voyage of six days upon the great river Kiang, we arrived at a village called Kiang-Cheou—that is, the mouth of the Kiang. The river Nan-kiang-huo, upon which we were to continue our course, is generally about a gun-shot across, and in winter contains but very little water ; the streams from the northern mountains, by which it is fed, being then frozen. For this reason the boats employed upon this river are flat-bottomed ; nevertheless, they often touch the ground, and in some parts the sailors are obliged to push the boat along with their shoulders or with poles ; and in these cases even the women help, though they may be burdened with an infant at their backs. Owing to the shallowness of the water we were unable to continue our course, and therefore stopped at a village called Hoang-hang, where we remarked a house which was well fortified, and of extraordinary size, containing, as I found upon examination, forty-eight rooms. I was told by the Chinese that it was used as a place of refuge by the neighbouring population when attacked by bands of robbers. The next day we arrived at the town of Nan-young. We wished to sleep in the convent of the Spanish Augustines, but our conductor objected to this ; stating that he had received orders not to permit us to lodge in any houses inhabited by Christians. At this place all our luggage was weighed and divided into lots that could be carried by one or two men ; for here the river ends, and a mountain is to be passed which divides the province of Canton from Kian-sy. This mountain, called Mei-ling, has two miles of steep ascent on one side, and two of descent on the other, and is about thirty miles distant from another river, on which we were again to embark. Everything is carried the whole of this distance by porters, vehicles and animals of every kind being excluded ; and as these two rivers form the chief channel of communication between the south and the north of the empire, the road which connects them is so covered

with people, that, during its whole length of thirty miles, it has constantly the appearance of a fair.

These porters carry burdens like pack-horses, and also sedans or palanquins, to do which they do not use straps, but a kind of yoke, made of hard wood, which chafes and cuts their flesh when they do not take the precaution of wearing a collar of felt or leather. It is really marvellous to see with what untiring swiftness these men perform their journeys of thirty miles a-day, at five miles an hour, stopping to rest only two or three times. It must be remarked, however, that these palanquins, as well as the more stately sedans, are very light, being always constructed of bamboo.

On the fifteenth day of our journey we arrived at the city of Nan-gan-foo, and were allowed to dine with Father Fernandes, at the residence of the Reformed Franciscans; but as we could not stop there during the night, he returned with us, and passed the night on board our vessel. While in this city, I was not a little surprised to see boys and girls of eight or nine years carrying burdens far too heavy for their age. We next came to the town of Kan-cheou-foo, in which both the Jesuits and the Reformed Franciscans have stations. Here we found a custom-house, being the first we had seen since our departure from Canton. Every morning, at about two hours after sunrise, the ships lying here are searched, and compelled to pay the duties required. Those which arrive after that time are obliged to wait till the next day. Having given notice that we were in the service of the Emperor, and on our way to the imperial court, we were not delayed nor troubled by any search. We had not, however, continued our voyage for more than an hour when our sailors went ashore to perform a sacrifice, in which they offered up different animals and counterfeit paper-money, which last they burn, believing that in another world it will be changed into good coin. This was done because we were about to enter a part of the river rendered very dangerous by a multitude of rocks, against which the current breaks with great violence. Ships are here in imminent danger of being lost; and it requires great experience and dexterity in the sailors to steer a safe course, especially at a spot called Shee-pah-tan, or "eighteen

breakers," upon which the waves dash with fearful impetuosity. It was for protection against this peril that the sailors offered sacrifices and prayers to their idols.

On their return on board they bound up some bundles of aromatic wood and burnt them as incense in honour of their gods. I no sooner perceived this than I ran, snatched them away, and threw them into the water; setting up a crucifix in their stead. A murmur immediately arose among the sailors; but it subsided upon their being told by our converted servant that this was the image of our God, who was omnipotent; and that the vessel being thus placed under his protection, no unfortunate accident need be feared.

Soon after, the river narrowed to only two hundred and sixty paces in breadth, and we arrived in the midst of those dreaded rocks, where we beheld with no small apprehension the fury of the waves that dashed upon them, and the danger in which our vessel was, owing to the irresistible power of the current. Our sailors, however, managed their oars and rudder so admirably, that they preserved us. The rocks under water are the most perilous. I saw one of the boats strike upon one of them, and instantly become a wreck. At length, after passing two whole days amid these dangers, we were very thankful to find ourselves safely beyond them. Six of the vessels of our convoy were lost, and the one in which we were narrowly escaped.

While continuing our course upon this river we witnessed a mode of fishing much practised in China, and a most interesting sight it was. The fishermen employ a certain kind of birds called loo-soo, which are rather larger than a duck, and have a neck as long as that of a goose. As they are quite black, they also bear the name of shew-e-laou, which signifies water-crow. The fisherman takes them in his boat, and when he sets them at liberty they swim upon the water, and at the sight of a fish they dive and secure it in their beaks. A ring is put upon their necks, which will allow them to swallow the smaller fish, but not the larger. When the fisherman perceives that their throats are filled with fish, he thrusts into the water a long pole, upon which these birds have been trained to climb and return into the boat; he then squeezes their throats to make them disgorge their

prey, and every time this is done he obtains about two handfuls of fish. The greater the number of these birds a fisherman possesses, the richer is he considered to be ; for the expense of keeping them is a mere nothing, as the smaller fish which they catch afford them in general sufficient food. I remarked, also, that when these loo-soo have dived, they rise to the surface of the water with their prey in their beak, and remain nearly a quarter of an hour before they plunge again to swallow their food. Hence it would appear they are taught by instinct that it would be dangerous for them to swallow a fish before it is dead.

CHAPTER VIII.

Dangers of Medical Practice—Missionary Pride—Foundlings—
Mahomedans.

WE arrived on Christmas-day at Nan-chang-foo, which is the capital of the province of Kian-sy, and were soon afterwards visited by Father Simoy, a Portuguese Jesuit, who informed us that he was in hourly expectation of the arrival of a lay-brother from Peking. On the following day the weather was so rough that we could not cross the river, which is here a mile and a half broad. We thus returned Father Simoy's visit, and while we were at dinner we received the intelligence that the brother above named had been robbed at a place called Lo-hua, about twelve miles distant. Having some skill in the medical art, he had been commanded by the Emperor to visit his twentieth son, who was ill. Either from not understanding the disorder, or from reluctance to give pain to the monarch, he pronounced that there was no danger. Not long after, the prince died, and the lay-brother was kicked, cuffed, and beaten so severely, by order of the Emperor, that he fell seriously ill in consequence, and was now repairing to Macao, on leave of absence. This must not surprise my readers, for I can add that, while in Peking, I was acquainted with some medical men who, having attended one of the imperial family, and not having succeeded in their treatment of the case, received a severe flogging, by the Emperor's command, and, still smarting from the lashes, were sent to prison, loaded with heavy chains. Fortunately for them, another member of the imperial family was taken ill, and they were ordered to attend the patient during the whole of his illness, without, however, being freed from their chains. Having succeeded this time in effecting a cure, they were set free, but on condition that they must continue to wear round their necks a small chain fastened with a clasp, as a warning for the future. Taught by

these and many other similar occurrences, the Jesuits, who were in the Emperor's service as mathematicians, painters, watch-makers, surgeons, or in other capacities, would never undertake to serve him as physicians.

Upon leaving Nan-chang-foo, we no longer travelled by water, but in litters, our attendants following on horseback ; and thus, on the 1st of January, 1711, we entered the city of Kiaou-kian-foo. At the inn where we stopped for the night, with the assistance of an interpreter, I entered into conversation with the host and his son, upon the principles of the Christian religion, and they both appeared so convinced of its truth that they requested to be baptized. But as I judged that in so short a time it was impossible that they could fully understand the nature of the subject, I left them a book, in Chinese, on the Christian faith, and directed them where to find a missionary who would baptize them.

These two conversions filled me with great joy, as they were the first I had made. I may here take occasion to observe that, if our European missionaries in China would conduct themselves with less ostentation, and accommodate their manners to persons of all ranks and conditions, the number of converts would be immensely increased ; for the Chinese possess excellent natural abilities, and are both prudent and docile. But, unfortunately, our missionaries have adopted the lofty and pompous manner known in China by the appellation of "Tti-mjen." Their garments are made of the richest materials ; they go nowhere on foot, but always in sedans, on horseback, or in boats, and with numerous attendants following them. With a few honourable exceptions, all the missionaries live in this manner ; and thus, as they never mix with the people, they make but few converts. The diffusion of our holy religion in these parts has been almost entirely owing to the catechists who are in their service, to other Christians, or to the distribution of Christian books in the Chinese language. Thus, there is scarcely a single missionary who can boast of having made a convert by his own preaching, for they merely baptize those who have been already converted by others ; and, in the absence of missionaries, infants, aged persons, and those that are sick, are baptized by native Christians.

On the 18th I had the happiness of finding, in the open coun-

try through which we passed, a castaway child about two days old. I instantly ordered two persons who were with me to ascertain whether the infant was alive; and, upon finding that it still breathed, I endeavoured to procure a little water to baptize it. But, strange to say, although I had hitherto travelled with several villages constantly in sight, none was within our reach at this moment where we might obtain water, neither was there a brook or a spring. In consequence of this, I had the child carefully placed in my litter till we arrived at the inn called "Pey-suy-kaou," where we were to lodge for the night. Here I put on my surplice and stole, and taking the oil, which I always carried with me, I consecrated the water; after this I baptized the infant; which, being a girl, I resolved to name Mary, in order to offer to the Holy Virgin this my first-begotten in the Lord. Upon my departure I left twelve shillings, partly my own and partly contributed by the Christians of the place, for her support, intending to send more from Peking if she lived: but this was not necessary—the child died soon after; and thus went, without trouble, to be happy with God in heaven.

There is nothing unusual in seeing children thus abandoned; it occurs daily throughout this vast empire. When mothers are poor, and have large families, or observe any defect upon the body of an infant, or any indication of an illness likely to become troublesome and expensive, they cast away the little creature without remorse. This cruel custom is also generally practised by unmarried women who have children, and especially by the members of a sect called Necoo, who pretend to live in spotless chastity. The poor infants are secretly thrown into a river, or left near the public road, in the hope that some passenger may take pity on them and carry them home. This sometimes happens, but generally the unfortunate beings are devoured by wild beasts. Not far from the walls of Peking, I myself saw one infant under the paws of a dog, and another between the teeth of a hog. By a charitable provision of the Emperor, carts are sent round the walls of his immense capital every morning in order to collect castaway infants, and carry them to a certain temple, where a number of women are employed to nurse them at his expense; but, owing to the want of proper attention, out of a hundred of these numerous ill-fated children, scarcely ten

survive. Well acquainted with this state of things, the Jesuits have appointed a Chinese Christian to baptize all the infants that are brought to that temple. To do this, however, they are obliged to obtain permission from the bonzes, which they must purchase with money. In this manner not less than three thousand children are baptized every year.

In other cities in China, where no such receptacle as this temple exists, the unfortunate little beings are left a prey to wild beasts; for it rarely happens that any one of them is preserved by the compassion of a stranger. I was so deeply affected by this that I resolved to devote the rent of a small house at Naples to the support of a catechist, charged with the care of baptizing such infants every morning; hoping that the example, however humble, might induce other persons to contribute more effectually for the same purpose.

The next day was spent at the same place where I had baptized the little foundling; the river being considered dangerous, in consequence of numerous masses of ice, which might have come in contact with the vessel. At length we crossed it safely, breaking with our oars the ice which had begun to form near the banks. Before starting we had, however, to wait a long time, because the officer appointed to conduct us had repaired to a temple of idols to sacrifice various animals and implore a good passage. This circumstance I only mention to shame many Christians, who are less eager to pray to their true God than these pagans to their false ones.

In these parts we saw for the first time a great many Mahomedans; and I afterwards understood that they are to be found in every province of the empire. It is said that they entered China from the west, in former times, when foreigners were permitted to pass the frontiers; and that they came from India. They formed connexions with the Chinese, and their descendants have increased to such an extent that they are now far more numerous than the Christians. They have their temples, or mosques, in which they meet to perform the rites of their religion. They wear the Chinese costume, with the exception of the lower orders, who are distinguished by a kind of cap of white cloth, pointed at the top: they also allow their mustachios to grow. They live with the Chinese in perfect harmony.

On arriving at Ool-she-poo I inquired of one of the Moors what he adored? "Pahy-choo" [the Lord], he answered. "What Lord?" said I. "Tah-se-yang-te-choo" [the Lord of Europe], he replied. "Do you not worship Tien" [Heaven]? I resumed. "Poo-pahy-tien-pahy-choo" [I do not worship Heaven, but the Lord], he replied, with some resentment. Father Fabri asked the same questions of two other Moors, and he received similar answers.

When we were within one day's journey of our destination, a messenger brought us an order to stop, because the Emperor was absent from Peking, and did not wish us to see any of the Europeans before we were presented to him; but, the day after, we were commanded to proceed, and accordingly we reached the capital on the 5th of January, about noon.

CHAPTER IX.

Introduction to the Emperor—The Ko-tow—Climate and Clothing—Abundance of Game—Chinese Stoves—Description of Peking.

BEING safely arrived in Peking, to which city the Emperor had returned, we were, by his command, immediately conducted to the palace, without being permitted to see any of the Europeans. After remaining for some time in an apartment with a number of mandarins, we were shown into a spacious open hall, where the chief eunuch came to meet us, and made us sit down upon cushions, which are used by the Tartars, who do not sit like us, or like the Chinese, but with their legs crossed. When we had taken our seats, the eunuch and the mandarins standing, two large golden bowls, one full of meat, the other of fish, were brought to us, with the intimation that the whole was sent by the Wan-Sui, which signifies the life of ten thousand years, which is one of the titles of his Imperial Majesty, and that it came from his own table. Such being the case, we were ordered to go on our knees, which is the universal custom upon receiving any thing direct from his Majesty. Then, taking the two bowls, we were obliged to raise them on high in our hands, and perform the ko-tow, that is, bend the head to the ground in sign of thanks for the great favour thus conferred upon us. After sitting down again we declined tasting the meat, saying that, being Friday, our religion forbade it, and we partook of the other things. We were then asked whether we had come prepared to serve the Emperor, even unto death; and we replied that such was exactly our wish.

When the dinner was over we were presented to his Majesty in his private apartments. He was seated, after the fashion of the Tartars, on a divan covered with velvet; and had before him a small table, upon which were placed some books and writing materials. Upon his right and left were some European

missionaries, with some eunuchs, having their feet close together and their arms hanging down, which, in China, is a sign of modesty and respect. Following the instructions received from the mandarins, as soon as we were within sight of the Emperor, we hastened our steps to the divan on which he was seated; and there we stood a few moments, with closed feet and arms hanging down. Then, at a signal given by the master of the ceremonies lowering his hand, we bent our knees; and, after remaining a short time in this position, at another signal we inclined slowly our heads till we touched the ground with the forehead; and this was repeated a second and a third time. After these three prostrations we arose to our feet, and then we again repeated them in the same manner, till they amounted to nine. This homage is called *tah-lee*, that is, the great or solemn ceremony. Subsequently, when we went into the presence of the Emperor, which was a frequent occurrence, we only knelt once; excepting at certain annual solemnities, such as the Emperor's birth-day, the first day of the year, and some few other occasions, when the nine prostrations were indispensable.

After these ceremonies his Majesty asked which of us had made any progress in the Chinese language, as he had been informed by the mandarins appointed to attend us that one of the five had done so. He was answered that I was the one. He then inquired our names, country, and profession, and whether we had brought any new mathematical works with us. He also ordered Signor Pedrini to play some music; put some questions to Signor Fabri concerning mathematics; and said something to me about painting. To this point the conversation had been kept up by means of interpreters. The Emperor now commanded me to answer the next question in Chinese, expressing myself as well as I could. He addressed me very slowly, employing many synonymous words, in order that I might understand him; and was very patient with me, making me repeat the words, till at length he made out what I meant. The question was as to the cause of Cardinal de Tournon's death at Macao. At the termination of the audience we were obliged to hasten out of the apartment as quickly as possible, which is a mark of respect paid to the Emperor. Having thus left the presence, I was informed by the mandarins, that it was his Majesty's pleasure that I

should go to the Palace to paint ; and, accordingly, I entered upon my duty on the following day.

The city of Peking was once called Se-yun-tien-fu ; but it received its present appellation when the emperors of China removed the government from Nanking to the north of the empire, in order to oppose the incursions of the Tartars. As Nanking means south royal residence, thus Peking signifies north royal residence ; the word *Nan* meaning south, *Pe* north, and *king* royal residence. It lies in a plain which stretches to the south for more than ten days' journey without interruption, whilst at no great distance towards the north it is bounded by very numerous mountains. Owing to this extensive plain on the south, and this multitude of mountains on the north, Peking is exposed to deadly heat in summer, and severe cold in winter.

The transition from one extreme to the other, however, is slow and gradual, so that the Chinese of the upper classes go on changing their clothes all the year round. In summer they wear a cotton shirt, a waistcoat of light ko-poo, linen, a loose gown of the same material, called ppow-zoo, and over this a light silk spencer, called why-ttao. When the heat begins to decrease they exchange the ko-poo for a sort of crape called shah, and this again for satin ; and, as the weather gets cool, they wear the ppow-zoo lined, and the why-ttao wadded, then both these garments wadded, after which they adopt the furs of ermine, sable, and fox, in the same gradation. In the depth of winter, besides having both the ppow-zoo and why-ttao lined with foxes' skin, they wear an under waistcoat of lambs' skin, and the loose gown over it wadded ; and when it snows they put on a long cloak covered over with seal-skin. In spite of all this they still shiver with cold ; and Count Ismailof, the Russian ambassador, told me that he and all his suit had been obliged to add garments to those they had been accustomed to wear, as the cold was far more intense here than at Moscow.

During the period of frost, that is, from October till March, Northern Tartary sends to the capital an enormous quantity of game, consisting chiefly of stags, hares, wild-boars, pheasants, and partridges ; whilst Southern Tartary furnishes a great abundance of excellent sturgeon and other fish, all of which being frozen, can easily be kept during the whole winter. At the close

of the old year, and the beginning of the new, huge heaps of game and fish are exposed for sale in the streets, and it is surprising to see how cheap they are sold. For seven or eight silver tchens, which are equivalent to four shillings, one may buy a stag; for a trifle more a wild-boar; for five half-pence, a pheasant; and so on in the same proportion. During the winter it never rains at Peking, and it snows but seldom and sparingly. From March to June there are occasional showers; but in July and August it rains copiously.

Stoves are in use in Peking, not, however, such as I have seen in Germany, Holland, and England, standing in the room, like small ovens: here they are placed without the room, and the heat is transmitted to the apartment through pipes, which run completely under the floor. By the European method of warming houses, our heads may be hot while our feet are cold, whereas in Peking the feet are always well warmed, and a moderate heat alike pervades every part of the room. Wood is very scarce, but there are mountains in the neighbourhood which appear entirely composed of coal like that of England; and this is the fuel in general use. While I was living in Peking some Muscovites arrived who had never been there before. They built themselves stoves of the European kind, supposing that they were to be preferred; but soon perceiving their error, they pulled them down, and adopted those of the Chinese. They likewise discovered that the expense of heating their own stoves exceeded that of the Chinese a hundred-fold: for in their own they were obliged to use a great deal of wood, which at Peking is exceedingly dear; whereas the cost of fuel for the Chinese stove is a mere trifle, coals being very cheap, and the chimneys not more than a foot square, and two feet deep. In the southern part of China, the land being universally cultivated, there is but little wood; and as the expense of conveying coals would be very great, dry leaves, grass, weeds, and even the dung of animals, are used for fuel. The ground is dry and healthy.

The quantity of rice produced is not considerable; but this, as well as the other necessities not found here, are abundantly supplied from other parts of the empire; and for their transport the present Emperor furnishes, at his own expense, nearly a thousand vessels of burden.

There is also a want of fruit, the quantity grown not being sufficient for so great a population ; but this deficiency is remedied in the same manner, from the country about Peking. The quinces are larger than ours, and of exquisite flavour ; and the apples and pears are so wholesome that they are given uncooked to sick persons. In Peking the price of these fruits is moderate ; but, being of an excellent quality, they are carefully packed in paper, and sent to Canton, where they are sold at one silver tchen a-piece, which is equal to five half-pence of our money. They consist almost entirely of juice, so that when dried in the sun, as is done in Europe, nothing but the rind remains, which is quite unfit for eating. There are two or three kinds of plums, which are tolerably good ; the chesnuts are small, and the other nuts resemble our own. The cherries are wild and small, and have little pulp.

The grapes are good, but they are only eaten. Formerly they were made into wine, as may be seen in manuscript books, where the word Ppoo-tow-tsien occurs, which signifies grape-wine ; but they now make their wine of a kind of rice, which is bruised and compressed into solid cakes for the purpose, and easily conveyed to any distance for sale. When used, these rice-cakes are broken, and put into vessels with hot water, and fermented. The liquor thus produced might be mistaken for excellent grape-wine. It is made sweet or acid at pleasure by the addition of certain herbs introduced during the fermentation, and a colour (yellow, light, or dark) is given to it as required. In consequence of this use of rice, very little care is taken to cultivate the vine. The Europeans, however, employ grape-wine to celebrate mass ; but from the watery nature of the grape, or from some other cause, during the heat of summer this wine ferments and turns sour, on account of which some of the missionaries cause it to be boiled.

Peking is composed of two distinct cities, one being called the Tartar city, the other the Chinese. The Tartar city is so named because it is inhabited by Tartars, and by those who, though not Tartars, are enrolled in the Ki-hiu-ti, or eight bands which constitute the Tartar troops. The Chinese city is inhabited by Chinese alone. It may be proper to observe that the district now called the Tartar city was in former times inhabited by the

eunuchs in waiting, who amounted to ten thousand; but under the present dynasty it is inhabited, as I have said, by Tartars and Chinese of the Ki-hiu-ti. The eunuchs, now about six thousand in number, live entirely within the walls of the palace. The Tartar city is square, and encircled by a yellow wall. It is within this yellow wall that the imperial palace is situated, but it is surrounded again by another wall, more lofty than that of the city, and of vast extent. The inhabitants within amount to a great multitude; for besides the six thousand eunuchs, there is in the seraglio a vast assembly of women, of whom the Emperor alone knows the number. There is also within the imperial residence a great number of Tartars who are in the service of the Emperor's sons, each of whom has his separate court; so that this palace may be very well considered as a third division, and Peking described as containing three distinct cities.

The Tartar city has nine gates, and each side of it is three miles in length. The Chinese city, which is also walled, joins the northern wall, which separates it from the Tartars. It is of the same size, but of a different form, being longer from east to west than from north to south; and it is more densely peopled with the middling and lower classes than the other city. In its four sides there are seven gates; and thus Peking has in all sixteen gates, and outside every gate there is a large suburb. The two cities together are twenty-one miles in circuit, according to a measurement made by the command of the Emperor. If to the circumference of twenty-one miles be added the suburbs and environs, which are also very populous, particularly those towards the west, through which nearly the whole commercial traffic of the Chinese capital passes, some idea may be formed of the vast size of this city. The palace, standing in the midst of the Tartar city, as already stated, has a southern aspect, and is in shape an oblong square, two miles in length, one in breadth, and six in circumference. The walls are enclosed and protected by a broad and deep ditch. There are three gates on each side, that in the centre being opened for the Emperor only, that towards the south for the heir-apparent, and the third for general use. These gates are guarded night and day by soldiers. Within and above these defences rises another wall, forming, as it were, an inner palace, in which reside the Emperor, his ladies, the

women in waiting, the eunuchs, and the imperial family. There is also a spacious garden, into which no one is admitted without an express permission from the sovereign. Those thus favoured, upon entering, write down their names, and upon leaving it blot them out. The splendour of the palace is equal to its extent; and though constructed according to the singular architecture of the Chinese, which resembles no other, except perhaps, in a slight degree, the Gothic, yet the whole is pleasing, and contains much that is excellent, and even wonderful.

CHAPTER X.

Oil-Painting—Chinese Delicacies—The New Year—Parental Authority—
Jealousy—Punishment by Proxy—Women's Feet—Visiting-Cards.

ACCORDING to the command of his Majesty, on the 7th day of February I went to the palace, and was conducted to the room of the oil-painters, who were the pupils of a certain Gerardino, the first who introduced the art of painting in oil into China. After giving me a polite reception, these gentlemen offered me brushes, colours, and canvas, that I might proceed to paint in their presence. For their paintings in oil they do not employ canvas, but corea paper, with no further preparation than a mere wash of rock-alum water. This paper is often sold in sheets as large as a blanket, and is so strong that I was not able to tear it. Being aware of my want of skill in the art of design, I had never ventured to paint any subject of my own invention, limiting my ambition to the production of moderate copies; but as copies are not at all esteemed by the Chinese, I found myself in no slight difficulty. I however took courage on observing that all the other painters, to the number of seven or eight, painted nothing but landscapes with Chinese houses, the Emperor caring but little for pictures of figures, as I was afterwards informed. Landscape-painting being by no means impossible to any one who possesses a moderate knowledge of drawing the human figure, I recommended my efforts to the direction of God, and began to do what I had never before undertaken. Happily my success was such that the Emperor was very well satisfied. Thus I continued to paint till the month of April, when his Majesty was pleased to command that I should betake myself to engraving.

It is the custom that all who enter the service of the monarch should make him some present. Not to be wanting in this duty, we three of the Propaganda presented our offering, which con-

sisted of about thirty articles of various kinds, the greater part of which he accepted. The presents consisted of medicines, liqueurs, confectionery, and similar things.

The Emperor sent annually to the European missionaries in Peking a good supply of venison, hares, pheasants, fish, and deer-sinews, as a new year's gift. This was also done for the present year, with an express command that we three should receive our due share. Having mentioned deer-sinews, I must add that they are collected, dried, and preserved for a long time in small bundles as an article of food. When they are to be eaten, they are first softened in water, and then cooked. They form a dish which occupies the second place of honour at a Chinese table, the dish prized beyond all others consisting of swallows' nests, which are found in the rocks and mountains of certain islands near Canton. These nests are not composed of mud, like those in our country, but of a kind of white paste, which, though tasteless in itself, on being prepared with broth and condiments, acquires a taste extremely delightful to the Chinese palate. The flesh of dogs forms the dish held next in estimation by the Chinese, and these animals are therefore kept and fed for their tables.

Having mentioned the Chinese new year, which is called Chin-yue, it may be proper to add that the Chinese calculate their year by the moon, and not, as we do, by the sun. They begin it with the new moon, which falls upon the 15th degree of Aquarius, answering to the 5th of February. They count twelve months, one having twenty-nine days, and the other thirty; but every five years they correct this lunar year by adding a month, and then they arrive at the same point as those who calculate by the sun. Days are counted from one midnight to another, and are divided into twelve parts, so that one of their hours is equal to two of ours.

The commencement of the year in China reminded me of the carnival amongst us, for it is celebrated in the same manner with games, feasts, theatrical representations, and other amusements. A few days before this festive period begins, the tribunals are closed, and sealed with the imperial seal, and are not re-opened till a few days after its termination. Idols painted upon pasteboard are affixed to the doors of the houses; and the quantity of

fireworks displayed at this time, in all parts of China, is truly astonishing. It may indeed be affirmed, without exaggeration, that on the night in which the old year terminates, and the new year begins, there is more gunpowder consumed in China than throughout all Europe during the whole twelve months. On the last evening of the old year, children kneel down before their parents, younger brothers before the elder, and servants before their masters, performing all the ceremonies which the custom of the country requires, and which consist of bows and prostrations too tedious for description. These rites are also observed between husbands and wives, and amongst the various grades of the female sex. The same homage which is rendered by children to their parents, the latter offer before the portraits of their deceased ancestors. All this is done in strict observance of an ancient custom of the country, namely, the profound reverence of the young towards the aged; and it is done with such superstitious exactness, that for any one who has not been a witness, as I have been, it is not easy to believe, or even to comprehend.

One day as I was talking in my own house with a mandarin who had come to pay me a visit, his son arrived from a distant part of the empire upon some business relating to the family. When he came in we were seated, but he immediately went down upon one knee before his father, and in this position continued to speak for about a quarter of an hour. I did not move from my chair, till, by the course of conversation, I discovered who the person was, when I suddenly arose, protesting to the mandarin that I would stand unless he allowed his son to sit down also. A lengthened contest ensued, the father saying that he would quit his seat if I continued to stand; I myself declaring that it was impossible for me to sit while his son was kneeling; and the son protesting that before his father he must remain on his knees. At last, however, I overcame every scruple, and the mandarin signified to his son by a sign that he might be seated. He instantly obeyed, but he retreated to a corner of the room, where he timidly seated himself upon the edge of a chest. A year after this, the son again came to visit me, having now become a mandarin himself. I offered him the seat of honour which was due to him, but he refused it, saying that it did not become him to take the same seat which, as I might remember, his father

had occupied the year before. Accordingly, when an emperor dies, his son never sits upon the same throne, but upon that which had been used by his grandfather.

Not only are children thus submissive to their parents, but, as before observed, younger brothers to the elder. Being one day out of Peking in attendance upon the Emperor, I was visited by a boy of about twelve or thirteen years of age, accompanied by his brother, who was a child of about five or six years old, very lively and interesting. I asked the latter several questions, which he answered with so much intelligence that I gave him a handkerchief; but no sooner was it offered than he withdrew his hands, and put them behind him in sign of refusal. I asked him what he meant, when he replied, "Ko-ko," that is, "elder brother." I then desired his brother to permit him to take it, and a nod from him was sufficient for the gay and joyous child, who instantly took the gift and returned thanks, as the common people in China do to persons of high rank, by kneeling down before me, and performing the Ko-tow, which is an inclination of the head down to the ground.

I may add that the Chinese women live entirely shut up by themselves in a remote apartment of their houses. Among persons of rank they are seldom allowed to go out, unless it be during the rejoicings of the new year, and even then they are shut up in sedans. They are indeed kept so strictly that they are not permitted to speak even with the father or the brothers of their husbands, much less with their uncles, or any other man, however close may be the relationship. Upon the occasion of the new year, the wife goes with her husband to perform the above-mentioned ceremonies and homage before her father-in-law and her own parents. She also performs these duties on the birthdays of the same relatives; and except on these days, her father-in-law is not allowed either to speak to her or enter her chamber. And here I will not omit the description of a practice which, while it proves the excellent social order of the Chinese, caused me to smile when I heard of it. If a man, for careless conduct or any other fault, considers it his duty to correct his daughter-in-law, as he cannot, according to the custom of the country, either enter her room or speak to her, and much less beat her, he summons his son before him, and after re-

proaching him with the faults of his wife, he bids him prostrate himself, and inflicts a severe flogging upon him. The son then rises upon his knees, and, touching the ground with his forehead, thanks his father for the castigation; after which he goes to his wife, and repeats the correction exactly, giving her the same number of blows that he received from his father.

From their inordinate jealousy arose the custom of crippling the feet of the women, in order to render walking a torment, and induce them to remain at home. I was informed by Chinese that the first who discovered this stratagem was one of their ancient emperors, who purposely hinted that nothing was more beautiful in a woman than to have the smallest feet possible. This imperial opinion being made public throughout China, every husband desired that his wife should be in the fashion, and mothers sought to secure to their daughters an imaginary beauty which it was found could be procured by art. Accordingly, at the tender age of three months, female infants have their feet bound so tightly that the growth of this part of the body is entirely stopped, and they cannot walk without hobbling and limping; and if upon any occasion they endeavour to quicken their pace, they are in danger of falling at every step. Even when walking at a slow pace, they find it impossible to balance their bodies upon a support so small and disproportionate, and are consequently obliged to walk like ducks, waddling about from right to left. In cases of marriage, the parties not being able to see each other, it is customary to send the exact dimensions of the lady's foot to her intended, instead of sending him her portrait, as we do in Europe. In this particular, indeed, their taste is perverted to such an extraordinary degree, that I knew a physician who lived with a woman with whom he had no other intercourse but that of viewing and fondling her feet.

At the beginning of the new year, friends and acquaintances visit each other, leaving their names written on red cards, which are called *Tia-zoo*. It is worthy of remark that, although the person visited be at home, he may order his servant to say that he is not, without giving any offence to the visitor—every one wishing at this time to enjoy himself at his leisure with his dearest relations and friends.

The mandarins, all the year round, dress plainly, and always

in the same colours, wearing a purple or black spencer, and a gown, either drab, buff, or some other quiet colour. Red and yellow they never wear, these two colours being prohibited as belonging to the imperial family. During the festal season, however, and on the Emperor's birthday, the mandarins are clothed in robes richly embroidered in gold, each bearing the peculiar badge of his rank. The military mandarins are distinguished by the dragon, and the mandarins of learning and science by the bird, which they wear embroidered upon their breasts. Thus splendidly arrayed, they go to the palace to pay their homage to the Emperor, whom, however, they do not see; but assembling in vast numbers in a great open court, they perform their genuflexions and prostrations while he remains seated upon his throne in the great hall.

I witnessed this ceremony several times, and must say that it was very splendid and imposing. The same sort of homage was also paid by all the Europeans, but separately, in another part of the palace, and never in company with the mandarins.

CHAPTER XI.

Sacrifice to Heaven—Fireworks—The Emperor's Palace near Peking—
Landscape Gardening—Chinese Flattery.

ONE morning, upon my going to the Palace as usual, I received an order from the Emperor to attend him at Chan-choon-yuen, a country residence about three miles from Peking, to which his Majesty frequently repaired, and spent from five to six months in the year. In obedience to this command, I immediately set out for that place with Father Jartou, who was assigned to me as an interpreter; and on our arrival we were lodged close to the imperial palace, in the house of Ttong-kew-kew, the emperor's uncle, who was ordered to provide for our maintenance. His Majesty moreover every day sent me a horse to ride; but as it was vicious and untamed, I left it for my attendant, so as not to expose my life to danger, and made use of another which I kept at my own expense. In addition to this, I was obliged to find myself in clothing and other necessities out of the annual allowance of about forty pounds which I received from the Propaganda. The maintenance and the horse were granted to those Europeans who were in immediate attendance on the Emperor; the others who resided in Peking, although also in his Majesty's service, were only allowed coals, rice, and other articles, amounting to about twenty pounds a-year.

Shortly afterwards we accompanied his Majesty to Peking, where he remained three days, for the celebration of the solemn sacrifice to heaven, worshipped by the literary sect, of which the Emperor is the head. For this purpose two splendid temples are erected in Peking and Nanking, and in these the Emperor alone is entitled to sacrifice, in the name of the whole of his people. If by any chance he is prevented from performing this function, his place is supplied by magistrates of the highest

rank. Any other person attempting to do the same commits the crime of high treason, and is punished accordingly.

In these temples the sacrifices consist of the immolation of vast numbers of sheep and oxen, accompanied by a variety of ceremonies. The Chinese prepare for these sacrifices by fasting, bathing, continence, and eating no flesh of animals slain during the fast, though that of animals killed before may be eaten.

Upon our return to Chan-choon-yuen, we were all invited by the Emperor to witness the display of fireworks annually made to celebrate the new year. In the evening therefore we all assembled in a large open space within the enclosure of the imperial gardens. The Emperor was present, together with his ladies, but concealed from public view. The grand spectacle commenced with what appeared to be a great fountain of fire rising out of the ground. While this was burning, a great chest was raised into the air to the height of nearly one hundred feet, and from thence it let down a splendid wheel of fire. This was no sooner out than a great column descended from the chest to the earth, consisting of an infinite number of little stars, and accompanied by four other columns formed of paper lanterns, all illuminated within. This beautiful sight lasted a considerable time, when another burning fountain appeared, nearly similar to the last; then a variety of columns of different shapes and colours, which also continued some time, keeping the spectators in a state of enchantment, all the Europeans admitting that they had never seen any thing so admirable in their own countries. This part of the spectacle was succeeded by a pyrotechnic exhibition, which the Chinese call *the war*, being a discharge of numberless rockets, which move in opposite directions, and then strike against some boards, producing a noise exactly similar to that of arrows shot from two contending armies. While this was going on, flaming fountains arose out of the earth in various directions, wheels and girandoles of fire were in motion on all sides, and the uproar was completed by continued and powerful reports like volleys of artillery. Fireworks, more or less splendid according to circumstances, are also exhibited on this occasion at the seats of persons of rank, for the amusement and diversion of the ladies, and the lower orders in general are particularly fond of this amusement.

The Emperor's country residence, called Chan-choon-yuen, which signifies "eternal spring," was built by Kang-hy himself for his recreation. It is situated in a plain, and surrounded by other mansions, all of which are enclosed within walls, and inhabited by his sons and the nobility. The entrances to this palace and its grounds are always guarded by Tartar soldiers, who allow none to pass but the eunuchs, and those to whom permission has been granted, in which case their names are written down upon tablets. On arriving at the gate, those who are not known are asked Ko-poo-pee, signifying, what is your name? and if the name they give is inserted upon the tablets, they are permitted to enter. After going through a kind of open hall, another gate is reached, where some eunuchs write upon a large white board the names of those who go in, and efface them with a damp cloth when they come out. In this manner they know whether any stranger stops in the palace after a certain hour in the evening, when no one is permitted to remain but eunuchs. The same precaution is taken in the imperial palaces at Peking and Je-hol, in consequence of the excessive jealousy with which the Emperor's ladies are guarded.

This, as well as the other country residences which I have seen in China, is in a taste quite different from the European; for whereas we seek to exclude nature by art, levelling hills, drying up lakes, felling trees, bringing paths into a straight line, constructing fountains at a great expense, and raising flowers in rows, the Chinese on the contrary, by means of art, endeavour to imitate nature. Thus in these gardens there are labyrinths of artificial hills, intersected with numerous paths and roads, some straight, and others undulating; some in the plain and the valley, others carried over bridges and to the summit of the hills by means of rustic work of stones and shells. The lakes are interspersed with islets upon which small pleasure-houses are constructed, and which are reached by means of boats or bridges. To these houses, when fatigued with fishing, the Emperor retires accompanied by his ladies. The woods contain hares, deer, and game in great numbers, and a certain animal resembling the deer, which produces musk. Some of the open spaces are sown with grain and vegetables, and are interspersed with plots of fruit trees and flowers. Wherever a convenient situation offers,

lies a house of recreation, or a dwelling for the eunuchs. There is also the seraglio, with a large open space in front, in which once a month a fair is held for the entertainment of the ladies ; all the dealers being the eunuchs themselves, who thus dispose of articles of the most valuable and exquisite description.

The Emperor was just about to set out on a shooting and fishing excursion upon a lake in the plains of Peking, and all the Europeans came from the capital to wish the monarch a pleasant journey. In this, as indeed in every other similar instance, we delivered our message to the mandarins on our knees, and they then conveyed it to their master. Upon the Emperor's return I again went to Je-hol, when his Majesty inquired whether I had been every day with the painters, what I had done, and whether I had made any progress in the Chinese language. I replied that I had been daily at the palace, and stated what I had painted. With respect to the language, he was informed that I made myself understood partly by words and partly by signs, and that when these were not sufficient, I drew what I meant. Upon hearing this, he commanded that I should no longer have an interpreter, that I might thus be obliged to express my wants in Chinese, and so learn the language more quickly. The Emperor further ordered that Don Pedrini should come and lodge in the house of Tton-kew-kew, for the purpose of tuning the cymbals and spinets, which his Majesty had in great numbers in all his palaces. When it was stated that Pedrini did not understand the language, he replied that was of no consequence, as cymbals were tuned with the hands, and not with the tongue. However, he afterwards assigned Father Parrenin as interpreter to Pedrini.

The Emperor supposed himself to be an excellent musician, and a still better mathematician ; but though he had a taste for the sciences and other acquirements in general, he knew nothing of music, and scarcely understood the first elements of mathematics. There was a cymbal or a spinet in almost every apartment, but neither he nor his ladies could play upon them : sometimes indeed with one of his fingers he touched a note, which was enough, according to the extravagant flattery practised at the court of China, to throw the by-standers into ecstasies of admiration, as I myself have often witnessed. I must say

that I was not a little surprised to find how Kang-hy, who was really a man of enlarged understanding, believed all the exaggerated praises of his courtiers, and was childishly vain. This was perhaps to be attributed to the flattery that had been continually lavished upon him since the eighth year of his age, when he began to reign.

The Emperor one day saw the portrait of a Tartar, which he had ordered me to draw, and he said it was a good likeness. He then commanded Pedrini to play on the cymbals, and also expressed himself much pleased with the performance. As a sign of his satisfaction, he afterwards sent us some eatables, a favour which he subsequently often repeated.

CHAPTER XII.

Survey of China, Tartary, and Corea—Order to engrave—Fall from a Horse—Tartar Surgeon—Water Cure.

FOR many years past the Emperor had despatched several Jesuits into the different provinces of China, with the injunction that they should make a correct survey of them. Wishing that Tartary should be equally surveyed, he confided the task to Father Jartou, assigning him Father Fabri as an assistant.

The expense attending this undertaking was immense, for the whole of the vast empire of China, Tartary, and nearly thirty tributary principalities and kingdoms, including Corea, were to be surveyed; the longitude being measured by means of long chains, and the latitude with mathematical instruments. This operation required the services of numerous individuals, superintended by many mandarins, and lasted fourteen years. The kingdom of Corea, however, and that of Thibet, could not be measured with much exactness; for the Coreans being extremely jealous of strangers, would not admit Europeans; and this part of the business was consequently executed by a mandarin, purposely instructed by the Jesuits, and then sent thither by the Emperor, under pretext of an embassy: even then they watched every movement of the mandarin so closely, that he could not take a step without being observed by the guards, who never left him, and wrote down all he said or did. Thus, being unable to measure the longitude with a line, he could only calculate the miles by the hour. This ambassador, with whom I was intimately acquainted, informed me that he had only succeeded in taking the sun's altitude by making them believe that the instrument he used was a sun-dial, and that he stopped to look at it in order to ascertain the time. Although Thibet had been nearly conquered by the Emperor, it was still governed by the Lamas: his Majesty would not, therefore, for political reasons,

send thither any other persons than two Lamas, but these had been previously instructed by the Jesuits.

The Emperor had long desired to have some one in his service who could engrave the geographical map above mentioned. He accordingly inquired whether Pedrini, Tilisch, and I understood any thing besides music, mathematics, and painting. They replied in the negative; and I said that I knew something of optics, and also the theory, though not the practice, of the art of engraving on copper with aquafortis. His Majesty was highly pleased to hear that, although I had not practised the art of engraving, I was ready to attempt it, and he immediately ordered that I should begin to engrave. In the shortest time possible, I, with a point, traced a landscape upon a plate coated over with lamp-black, as a preparation for the aquafortis; and I had scarcely done this when the Emperor desired to see it. As subjects on plates thus prepared present a very handsome appearance, the Emperor was delighted with it, and commanded his Chinese painters to draw a landscape, in order that I might afterwards engrave it. As soon as it was done it was shown, together with the original, to his Majesty, who expressed considerable delight and surprise at finding the copy so perfectly similar to the original, without this being impaired; for this was the first time that he had seen an engraving on copper, the Chinese making theirs by fixing the drawing on a block of wood, and cutting them both at once with a chisel.

To avoid the heat of summer, which is always excessive in Peking, the Emperor Kang-hy had been accustomed to make excursions, by land and water, to the south of China. But as this diversion caused an expense which was extremely burdensome to his subjects, he had built himself a country residence at Je-hol, in Tartary, where he now usually resided from the beginning of May till the end of September, with an escort of about thirty thousand men, besides a great multitude of people who resorted thither for the love of gain, or pleasure. I was commanded to follow him thither, together with Father Tilisch, in the capacity of a mathematician; Father Rod, in that of a surgeon; Father Parrenin, and Don Pedrini, as interpreters. We all set out together on horseback, but, before we were out of the city, my horse slipped, and I was instantly thrown, re-

ceiving frightful wounds in my head and other parts of my body. As my companions did not dare to stop, they recommended me to the care of two heathens, and left me fainting in the street, where I remained in this state for a considerable time.

When I recovered my senses, I found myself in a house, but every thing appeared dark and indistinct, and I felt as if I had fallen from my horse two months before. The Emperor sent me a Tartar surgeon, for he and his court were fully persuaded that for falls Tartar surgeons were better than Europeans. And, to confess the truth, although the mode of treatment was of a barbarous description, and some of the remedies appeared useless, I was cured in a very short time. This surgeon made me sit up in my bed, placing near me a large basin filled with water, in which he put a thick piece of ice, to reduce it to a freezing-point. Then stripping me to the waist, he made me stretch my neck over the basin, and, with a cup, he continued for a good while to pour the water on my neck. The pain caused by this operation upon those nerves which take their rise from the pia-mater was so great and insufferable, that it seemed to me unequalled. The surgeon said that this would stanch the blood and restore me to my senses, which was actually the case; for in a short time my sight became clear, and my mind resumed its powers.

He next bound my head with a band, drawn tight by two men, who held the ends, while he struck the intermediate part vigorously with a piece of wood, which shook my head violently, and gave me dreadful pain. This, if I remember rightly, he said was to set the brain, which he supposed had been displaced. It is true, however, that after this second operation my head felt more free.

A third operation was now performed, during which he made me, still stripped to the waist, walk in the open air, supported by two persons; and, while thus walking, he unexpectedly threw a bowl of freezing cold water over my breast. As this caused me to draw my breath with great vehemence, and as my chest had been injured by the fall, it may be easily imagined what were my sufferings under this infliction. The surgeon informed me that, if any rib had been dislocated, this sudden and hard breathing would restore it to its natural position.

The next proceeding was not less painful and extravagant,

The operator made me sit upon the ground ; then, assisted by two men, he held a cloth upon my mouth and nose till I was nearly suffocated. "This," said the Chinese Esculapius, "by causing a violent heaving of the chest, will force back any rib that may have been bent inwards."

The wound in the head not being deep, he healed it by stuffing it with burnt cotton. He then ordered that I should continue to walk much, supported by two persons ; that I should not sit long, nor be allowed to sleep before ten o'clock at night, at which time, and not before, I should take a little hifan, that is, thin rice soup. This continued walking caused me to faint several times ; but this had been foreseen by the surgeon, who had warned me not to be alarmed. He assured me that these walks in the open air, while fasting, would prevent the blood from settling on the chest, where it might corrupt. These remedies were barbarous and excruciating ; but I am bound in truth to confess that in seven days I was so completely restored as to be able to resume my journey into Tartary.

On the very morning that I fell from my horse the Emperor three times sent a commission, consisting of two mandarins, three secretaries, and two physicians, to examine me upon the subject of the accident. I constantly affirmed in my answers that the horse was excellent, and that I had fallen from my ignorance of horsemanship. I thus saved from punishment both the officer who had brought me the horse and the mandarins who had been charged with the arrangements of our journey. These poor men had lived in the greatest dread, fearing that some complaint might escape me, which, however slight, would cause their destruction. For this reason they now conceived a great affection for me, and upon different occasions they rendered me important services.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Great Wall—Mountain near Je-hol—Attempts to engrave—Description of Je-hol—The Emperor's Country Life.

As his Majesty was now aware that I could not ride, he ordered that as soon as I was in a fit state to set out I should travel in a carriage. In this journey I passed the famous wall which divides China from Tartary, and well deserves to be considered as a wonder of the world. The Chinese say that it is more than ten thousand lee in length, which is equal to more than three thousand miles; but I have been assured that it does not exceed fifteen hundred. Its course is not always even, sometimes descending into deep valleys, at others rising to the top of lofty mountains. Its height constantly varies, being much greater in certain situations, especially in the valleys, whilst in some places it does not rise higher than fifteen feet. In some parts this wall is built entirely of stone, in others of brick, in others of stone and brick mixed; and such is its breadth, that carriages can drive along the top with ease. I was informed that the interior of the wall was filled up with earth, and that it was built of that breadth not only for convenience in time of war, but also to facilitate the transport of materials when it was building, as it would otherwise have been impossible to carry it over steep and precipitous spots. It would in fact have been beneath the advanced civilization of the Chinese to build a national barrier, passing over rocks, ravines, and mountains, without providing a passage for horse and foot soldiers.

Upon examining this work I was greatly astonished to find that although it was built more than eighteen hundred years ago, it is still so perfect that it does not appear to have been finished above a century. It is decayed only in a few places, and these dilapidations the Tartars, who are now in possession of China, do not trouble themselves to repair. They only preserve and

defend the gates through which there is much traffic. Under the native Chinese government one million of soldiers were employed to guard and garrison this marvellous work.

Before arriving at the wall we had entered a country diversified with hills and plains; but on the other side of the gate nothing was to be seen but mountains, and the road lay through valleys and defiles, which appeared walled between the heights on either side. Until we had reached Je-hol I did not observe a single Tartar habitation, but only some inns erected by the Chinese for the accommodation of travellers since the Emperor had removed his residence thither. Besides these, at intervals of about fifteen miles, there are palaces surrounded by walls, which are used by the Emperor and his concubines on his way to Je-hol and back. Among these mountains the mornings were so cold that it was necessary to wear furs; but when the sun had risen the heat became insupportable. Near Je-hol I one day had the pleasure of ascending a mountain higher than the rest, and was much surprised at the extraordinary appearance of the summits around, which looked like the waves of a boundless sea—a spectacle, perhaps, without a parallel in the whole world. From this situation I also beheld one of those sports of nature at once so unaccountable and so stupendous, which I have described in the journey from Canton to Peking; but this was much more lofty, and of a different form, resembling the fabulous club of Hercules.

After twenty days' journey we arrived safely at Je-hol. On the following day I went to the palace to return thanks for the surgical assistance sent me by the Emperor, which I did by means of the Ko-tow, this ceremony being unavoidable whenever the Emperor has conferred any favour, however trifling. Upon this occasion I was given to understand that I must finish the copper-plate upon which I was employed, and immediately after take off prints from it. Of the art of engraving with aquafortis I knew no more than what I had learned in a single lesson given me by an artist at Rome in compliance with the wishes of a friend who, as if by providential foresight, had earnestly recommended me to learn it.

I now inquired for the ingredients necessary to make aquafortis, that is, strong white wine vinegar, sal ammoniac, and

verdigris. The sal ammoniac could be procured in abundance, but the verdigris was greatly inferior to ours, and the vinegar, not being made with grape wine, but with sugar and other articles, was not fit for my purpose. Thus, owing to the inefficiency of the aquafortis, the lines were very shallow, which, added to the badness of the ink, caused the prints to be of the worst possible description. It cost me no small amount of labour before I could bring this kind of engraving to any degree of perfection.

To make the ink tartar was necessary, but of this a few pounds only could be found in the imperial drug-house, and I was obliged to employ other materials. After many experiments, however, I produced a tolerable specimen.

In the construction of a press I was again encountered by innumerable difficulties, having never even seen one but once, when I paid no particular attention to it. I now ordered one to be made, having the lower cylinder fixed and the upper one moveable. In consequence of this, when it was worked the effect produced was of the worst description, and drew forth the laughter and jests of the eunuchs, mandarins, and many other persons belonging to the court, so that my trouble and confusion were complete. Recollecting, however, the high purpose for which I had come to China, I contrived to bear all this with patience and good humour. His Majesty having seen the prints which I had engraved, was kind enough to excuse them, though they were very pale. He even declared they were excellent; and this he always continued to do, never finding fault with what I produced.

Besides the annoyances already mentioned, I had to endure other interruptions, proceeding from envious persons, amongst whom were some mandarins, who, being displeased at my having gained the Emperor's favour, endeavoured in various ways to bring me into disgrace. Amongst many other malevolent actions, having seen that my work was not at first very successful, they employed a letter-cutter to engrave a plate with the graver: he transferred the outlines tolerably by following closely the design of the painter; but as he did not understand the harmony of light and shade, when the prints were drawn off his plate they presented a wretched appearance. The mandarin Chow, who had the chief care of the Europeans, was so disap-

pointed and incensed, that he tore the prints to pieces, and ordered the poor man to be bastinadoed.

Perceiving that I had made some progress in the art of engraving, his Majesty resolved to have prints of thirty-six different views taken from the residence of Je-hol built by himself. Accordingly I went there with the Chinese painters whom he had ordered to make the drawings, and I thus had an opportunity to see the whole of the grounds, a distinguished favour which had never yet been conferred on any other European.

The residence of Je-hol is in Tartary, about one hundred and fifty miles distant from Peking. It is situated in a plain surrounded with mountains, whence flows a torrent, which, though usually dry, swells fearfully in time of rain or thaw. A few years before, when its destructive character was not yet known, and before the present houses were built, it carried away by a sudden overflow in the night an encampment of many thousand persons. A hill rises gently from the plain, its side studded with buildings destined for the Emperor's followers, and a copious spring of water, after winding round a variety of delightful slopes, forms a noble lake containing a remarkable quantity of fish.

To an admirable disposition of the ground, nature has here added the charms of a luxuriant vegetation. Throughout the vast extent of those regions of Tartary a tree is rarely seen. At Je-hol, however, the plain, the slopes, and the hill are thickly covered with foliage; and the filberts, corianders, pears, and apples, though growing wild, have so delicious a flavour that they are served on the Emperor's table. The plain, slopes, and hill are so extensive that it took me an hour to make the tour of the inclosure on horseback.

Various habitations, more or less large according to their use, are erected here and there in different spots about the grounds: one for his Majesty; behind this, one for his concubines, who lodge three or four in each room; another for his mother, others for his queens, and others for the eunuchs. There is also a Miao, or temple of idols, which is constantly attended by a great number of Taou-she, or priests of the devil, who are all eunuchs, dressed in yellow. It is to this Miao that the Emperor goes with his ladies to make sacrifices and adorations during his stay in Je-hol.

There are, besides, many cottages and summer-houses: these summer-houses are built in different forms, but all in good taste, and very clean. They are provided with silk curtains on all sides, so as to prevent observation from without; and have seats all around, with a table or bed in the centre. These cottages and summer-houses are for the service of the Emperor, who retires thither with his queens and concubines; for at Je-hol he rarely sees any one except his ladies and eunuchs. With his ladies on foot around him, he is carried about the grounds by eunuchs, in an open chair; with them he sails in little boats, fishing in the canals and the lakes; with them he eats—always, however, alone, upon a raised platform, whilst they take their food seated on the floor, each at her little table. Even when studying he is surrounded by his favourite queens, as I myself have often seen.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Emperor's Retinue—The Little Hunt—Stag-hunting—Tiger-hunting—
Wrestling and Archery—Silence in the Camp.

IN the month of September the Emperor usually indulged in stag-hunting; and this year, 1711, in order that we Europeans might witness the sport, he took us all five with him. We set out on the 11th for Kara-kotton, an ancient city which had been destroyed by the Chinese when they expelled the Western Tartars. Before building the residence of Je-hol, above described, his Majesty used to spend the summer months in this place, where, besides his palace, several edifices are still extant, partly erected by him for his suite, and partly by the Chinese, who repair thither for trade. Although it had been abandoned by the Emperor, it still contained a considerable population.

Very early on the 12th we resumed our journey, and, after travelling about twenty miles, we came to a place called Lanchee-siao-ing, where we passed the night under tents. Beyond this spot there are no other habitations but the palaces intended for the reception of the Emperor and his ladies. The rest of the company lodge in tents, which, from one of the neighbouring heights, form a noble sight, looking like the encampment of an army. Out of thirty thousand soldiers, which the Emperor had with him at Je-hol, only twelve thousand accompanied him to the hunt; but his retinue was so numerous that our party must have amounted to more than thirty thousand persons. On the slope of a hill a Miao had been erected long before the arrival of the Emperor; and the hill was surrounded with soldiers, who allowed no one to pass, because his Majesty was expected to alight with the ladies of his suite, as in fact he did before proceeding to his palace. The ladies he brought with him were in six carriages, three of which were yellow and three black, the former for the queens, the latter for the concubines. Those of

the crown-princes were in three carriages, one yellow and two black. Each carriage contained four ladies, seated in the Tartar fashion with their legs crossed. Wherever these women passed, everybody was obliged to pay them reverence, by quickly fleeing away and hiding themselves so that they might neither see them nor be seen: those who were not very active in the performance of this duty never failed to receive a good beating from the mandarins or eunuchs of the escort. We Europeans, however, were treated with less severity. It often happened that we met them in places where it was inconvenient to avoid them, and that, whilst the Chinese were driven away without mercy, we were not at all molested.

On the 13th we left Kara-kotton before daybreak, and proceeded to Poro-kotton, another ancient city, which had likewise been demolished by the Chinese. The following day was spent by the Emperor in fishing in a river flowing by. We then resumed our journey, and arrived at a place called Epakia, where his Majesty slept in a palace for the last time, as henceforth tents were the only accommodation on the road. About halfway stood three large circular tents, of white canvas, within a yellow inclosure of the same material. One of them was for the Emperor, another for the crown-prince, and the third for the ladies. There were, besides, some blue tents, of inferior quality, for the eunuchs. Here his Majesty stopped two hours, in the middle of the day, for dinner and repose: and at the place where we arrived in the evening we found other tents of the same description, and disposed in the same manner.

After another day's rest and one of travelling, on the afternoon of the 17th we began what they call the little hunt, which is for deer, hares, and pheasants. Hitherto, we Europeans had preceded the company about two hours' march—the Emperor intending that we should thus avoid the dust and confusion always produced by a whole army on horseback; now, however, to enable us to enjoy the sport, he ordered that we should march immediately after him, and keep within sight of him. We had come to a small plain covered with luxuriant verdure, where a number of soldiers formed a semicircle around the Emperor, who was a few steps in advance, followed by his family and suite, all armed with bows and arrows, and flanked by falconers.

As the circle advanced at a slow pace, innumerable pheasants, hares, and deer were seen to fly or run out of the grass and the bushes in all directions. Eagles, trained for the purpose, were let loose upon the deer; against the hares and pheasants arrows and hawks were employed. This continued for about an hour, when we came to the end of the plain, and were obliged to proceed in search of another spot across those valleys and hills of Tartary. Then, when we came to the other places adapted to the sport, this was repeated several times, and always in the same manner.

Having crossed several hills, we now arrived in an open place, skirted by verdant heights; and in the early morning the stag-hunt was begun, which being conducted in a manner quite different from ours, I shall here describe minutely. On this occasion the army consisted of twelve thousand soldiers, divided into two wings, one of which passed on towards the east, then turned northward, whilst the other proceeded to the west, then likewise turned in a northern direction. As they marched on, each man halted, so as to remain about a bow-shot distant from the next, till at length they surrounded the hills. Then, at a given word, in an instant they all advanced slowly towards the centre of the circle, driving the stags before them, and went on in this manner till one was not more than half a bow-shot distant from the other. Every alternate soldier now halted, and the next continuing to advance, two circles were formed, one being at a considerable distance from the other. After this they all moved in the same direction till the soldiers of the inner circle being so near as to shake hands, they divided again and formed a third circle; when, preserving their relative distances, they advanced again till the soldiers and horses of the innermost circle touched each other.

The inner or third circle was less than a bow-shot distant from the second, but the distance from this to the outer circle was much greater. The three circles having thus taken up their ultimate position, the Emperor entered into the centre, followed by the male part of his family and relatives, and surrounded by the best and most expert hunters, armed for his defence. The ladies were conducted into pavilions erected upon a neighbouring hill, where they could view the sport without being seen.

A similar situation was allotted to us, but we remained on horseback.

The signal being given, the Emperor himself opened the chase by killing with his arrows a good number of the multitude of stags thus surrounded ; and when weary he gave permission to his sons and relations to imitate him. The stags, perceiving themselves hemmed in and slaughtered on all sides, attempted to escape by breaking through the circle ; but the soldiers, being accustomed to this, instantly drove them back with shouts and the noise they produced by striking the leather housings of the horses with their stirrups. Many of the stags, however, urged by pain or fear, leaped over the horses, or forced a passage with their horns. The soldiers of the second circle then endeavoured to drive them back to the centre ; but if they did not succeed, those of the third were permitted to kill the fugitives. Nor were the animals that chanced to escape from the soldiers entirely safe, for they could then be destroyed by any one who might happen to meet them.

Tigers generally make their abode in the most rugged and inaccessible mountains of Tartary ; but they are sometimes found among these hills watching for deer and other prey. When it is discovered that there is more than one, the circles are immediately dissolved, the soldiers retire to the encampment with great precaution, and no further attempt at hunting is made there that year. If, however, no more than one of these ferocious animals has been observed, the soldiers dismount, and dividing into bands of five men each, they take up various positions, with lance in hand, instead of bows and arrows : being thus prepared, they let loose a number of dogs, not to hunt the beast, but to intimidate him by their barking, and drive him from his lair, which is very soon effected. When the tiger appears, the soldiers remain motionless, knowing it to be the nature of this beast to attack. Fixing his eyes, therefore, upon one of these groups of soldiers, he makes towards them at a quick pace, and when at a certain distance he instantly springs upon them. The five men, who with their eyes and lances fixed awaited his approach, receive him on the points of their weapons, which they force into his breast, and having with great dexterity thrown him down they quickly despatch him. I never had an opportunity of witnessing such an occurrence, but I was assured that no tiger, th

discovered alone, had ever escaped ; and that no soldier had ever been hurt by one. When, on the contrary, these groups have been attacked by more than one tiger, some have suffered ; and, consequently, whenever more than one is discovered, the sport is immediately abandoned, and the company proceed to another quarter. There are great numbers of these beasts in that country, and the Tartars often hunt them in the manner described ; and afterwards sell the skins in Peking, at about a tael each, a Chinese coin equivalent to a crown.

As I have here spoken of stag and tiger hunting, I cannot leave the subject without noticing an extraordinary circumstance. The stag, being endowed with a sense of smell as exquisite as that of the dog, perceives the tiger by its strong scent, and instantly flies behind some hill, which, intercepting the current of wind, prevents his own scent from reaching the ravenous beast. Father Parrenin told me that, a few years before, as the hunting circle advanced, they had come to a slope sheltered from the wind, which was covered by such an immense multitude of stags as to appear of the colour of their skins. These stags were so terrified by the dreaded beast, that upon the approach of the men and horses they did not attempt to escape, but allowed themselves to be killed like a flock of sheep, rather than save themselves by flight. So great was the slaughter, that the Emperor, supposing that all the stags of the surrounding country had assembled upon that spot, commanded the circle to be opened, lest the race might be entirely destroyed.

The Emperor took part in another species of sport, unknown in Europe and less fatiguing. He set out by night with all the great company above mentioned, and when within two miles of the spot selected for the sport he left the army, and ascended to the top of a hill with six or seven hunters, clothed in stag-skins from head to foot. Here one of the hunters put on a kind of mask resembling a stag's head with horns, and concealed himself among the bushes in such a manner that at first sight he might be taken for a stag, while the Emperor and the others crouched down close by—all being armed with good guns, to the ends of which were fixed small pieces of stag's horn. The stags are followed by several does, which they will not allow any other stag to approach. Early in the morning they instinctively raise a cry of challenge ; the other stags arrive, and a fight ensues,

which continues till one is slain, when the victor takes possession of his rival's herd of does. One of the hunters now blows an instrument which, both in shape and sound, very much resembles those with which our herdsmen call the swine, and which closely imitates the belling of the stag. At this sound the stags hasten to the hill, and seeking their supposed rival they come within gun-shot, and meet with their death. The Emperor had the first shot, and if he missed, the stag was quickly killed by the huntsmen. It happened one day that at the sound of the horn not one stag only but two appeared at the same time within shot, and began to fight. One of them was soon hit by the Emperor, and the other, instead of running away, strove to finish his dying rival, thus giving his Majesty the opportunity of killing him also with the second shot. The sport lasts only about two hours, as later in the day it would have no effect; and every morning from five to ten stags were thus killed.

This was the sport in which the Emperor Kang-hy indulged every year in the months of September and October, changing the place nearly every time, in order to find a greater quantity of game. If it happened during this period that his Majesty was deprived of his diversion, either by his superstitious prostrations to the new moon or any other impediment, he was not idle on that account. He then came out of his pavilions, and, sitting upon a carpet on some elevated situation, he either watched the dexterous efforts of his Tartar wrestlers, or commanded some of his grandchildren, and other great military mandarins, to practise archery before him; and sometimes he would even enter the lists against his third son, who managed the bow nearly as well as himself. Although our party amounted to about thirty thousand persons—a number which, under all circumstances, must produce great noise and confusion—yet when the Emperor was encamped, and the sun had set, the silence enforced was perfectly astonishing. One day Pedrini and myself having returned to the encampment after sunset, my friend ordered a servant to call our conductor, to whom he wanted to speak. The poor fellow resisted for some time, but being pressed by his master he at last obeyed; and scarcely had he opened his mouth before he was seized by the soldiers of the guard, and very severely bastinadoed.

CHAPTER XV.

Chinese Letters—Imperial Condescension—The Christians in Danger—Conversions—Strict Discipline—The Crown Prince deposed—The Emperor's Sixtieth Birth-day.

DURING our stay at Chan-choon-yuen I presented to his Majesty some prints of a Chinese landscape, drawn by one of the imperial painters, which I had executed with the graver. The Emperor was highly pleased with them, and ordered me to engrave some letters of the Chinese alphabet in the same manner. Considering that there is scarcely any Chinese writing which does not contain some superstitious expression which we Christians can neither engrave nor print, I did two letters of the Chinese alphabet and two of ours, the latter with every possible care, the others as badly as I could; and when I submitted them to his Majesty I observed that the European letters were well executed because I could write them, but that the Chinese were bad because, being unable to write them, I could not engrave them. My excuse was kindly received, and thus, by the grace of God, I avoided the danger of contributing to the propagation of error.

About this time the Emperor gave to Fathers Cardoso, Tilisch, Pedrini, and myself, four superb why-ttaos of choice silk, lined with ermine, and worth at least twenty pounds each. With the exception of another garment intended to preserve me from the rain, this was the only thing I received from the monarch during the thirteen long years that I toiled for him. Several of the old missionaries who had spent their lives in his service told me that he had never made them any present at all. His Majesty imagined that he obliged us Europeans exceedingly by allowing us to have the honour of working for him, as he clearly intimated to us several times.

A few days after, the Emperor set out for Tartary, but without taking any Europeans with him, which gave us no small apprehension. On endeavouring to discover the cause of this novelty,

we found that a high law officer had presented to the Board of Rites a very elaborate libel against our holy religion, and that his Majesty had left us all behind lest we might trouble him with memorials and petitions. Having found this out, the missionaries in Peking, who derived no other advantage from their labours than the good graces of the Emperor and the courtiers, now employed all their interest in the defence of our faith. In consequence of their exertions, the Board of Rites was led to declare that the Europeans had fixed their residence in China with his Majesty's positive permission; that they had rendered themselves useful to the empire in the formation of the calendar, the manufacture of arms, the war against the Muscovites, and in numerous other ways; and that, as they had never offended against any one, it would not be right to forbid them the use of their own religion on the mere assertion that it was false; concluding, that those who were furnished with the imperial Piao should not be molested, and that those who had none might be banished to Macao. This declaration was immediately sent to the Emperor, who with his own hand wrote at the bottom of it, "I approve." When he returned from Tartary we all repaired to the palace to thank him by word of mouth and in writing, besides the usual nine ko-tows, or prostrations.

In the meantime I continued to improve in the art of engraving; and when his Majesty saw some copies of the last print I had produced, he said they were "pan-pei," which means a treasure. On this occasion he commanded me to engrave the forty views of Je-hol which he had ordered his painters to take, intending to get them bound in volumes with some poetical compositions, and then make presents of them to the King and Princes of Tartary. He also inquired whether I would take two Chinese pupils on the condition that they should not teach my art to any one else. On my answering that I wished nothing so well as to please his Majesty, he immediately sent to Peking for two young men, whom I instructed with tolerable success, together with some others who came afterwards. Ever since the day of my arrival at Je-hol I had been frequently visited by a youth of good family, whom I had done everything in my power to convert. With the excessive civility of a Chinese, he always affected to be convinced by my arguments, but the moment he

joined his friends he turned my efforts into ridicule, laughing with them heartily. I was informed of this, but nevertheless I did not cease to instil the word of God into his heart. One day he came to see me at the moment I was instructing two Chinese who had pressed me to teach them the dogmas of our faith, and he begged me to allow him to listen. To confess the truth, I was not much pleased with his presence, fearing that he might divert the others from the resolution they had formed of embracing the Christian faith ; but not to offend him, I granted his request. I spoke for about three-quarters of an hour, proving the existence of God and the falsehood of idols ; then by degrees explaining the principal mysteries of Christianity. After this they all earnestly entreated me to baptize them, which I did with infinite satisfaction, after having tried the firmness of their determination for some time.

The Emperor having decided to return from Je-hol to Peking, ordered us to precede him by four or five miles, so that we might avoid the confusion inseparable from the march of an army, with the thousands of waggons, mules, camels, and horses that transported the imperial baggage. The camels alone amounted to more than six hundred. With respect to these animals I may here remark that they are brought from Tartary, which abounds in them as well as in horses. I was however assured by those Europeans who had surveyed the whole of Chinese Tartary, when executing a map of that country, that they had never seen an ass or a mule there.

In the place at which we halted to sleep, we found houses constructed for the service of the Emperor ; but before entering them his Majesty superstitiously commanded the lamas to bless them, and drive away the evil spirits. Every one expected to pass the great wall that evening, and stop at another place some miles farther, and accordingly many of the mandarins in attendance had passed the great barrier of the country, and erected pavilions where they supposed the Emperor would halt ; but an order was soon issued that they should all return, and that, as they passed the gate of the great wall, the guards should write down their names, and immediately send a list to his Majesty. This was punctually executed, and many of the party were severely punished. Two of the mandarins, who were appointed to

take care of the Europeans, alleged that they had gone forward to recall the persons they had in charge, and the excuse was admitted. Another disguised himself in the dress of my servant, and not being discovered he escaped castigation. As the guards at the gate allowed no baggage to return, many were obliged to sleep on the bare ground, and others in the open air, at a time when in the morning the water and even the ground was frozen.

When we arrived at Chan-choon-yuen, the imperial residence near Peking, to our great terror we saw in the garden of that great palace eight or ten mandarins, and two eunuchs upon their knees, bare-headed, and with their hands tied behind them. At a small distance from them the sons of the Emperor were standing in a row, also with their heads bare, and their hands bound upon their breasts. Shortly after, the Emperor came out of his apartments in an open sedan, and proceeded to the place where the princes were undergoing punishment. On reaching the spot he broke out with the fury of a tiger, loading the heir-apparent with reproaches, and confined him to his own palace, together with his family and court. In a public manifesto he subsequently deposed the unfortunate prince as suspected of treason; and to prove to the nation his incapability of reigning, amongst other things he accused him of being addicted to an atrocious offence, which the laws of China, though promulgated by heathens, hold in the greatest abomination.

The Emperor could not remain long in the same place, and thus after a few days he left Chan-choon-yuen for Pa-chao, another mansion of enormous dimensions, with a park so abounding with stags, that they appear like flocks of sheep. Here it was that, in ancient times, the sovereigns of China enjoyed the pleasures of a country life; but the Emperor Kang-hy, after erecting the palace of Chan-choon-yuen, only repaired to Pa-chao once a year, to hunt the stag and other animals. After the chase, he returned to Peking to celebrate the solemn festival of the sixtieth year of his age; a period which in China is equivalent to our century.

On the fourth day of April, 1713, the chief mandarins from all parts of the empire arrived at Peking to assist at the celebration, and take part in the splendid rejoicings which were made upon this occasion. Every one offered to the sovereign gifts of

the rarest description, according to his rank and power. We Europeans, each contributing his share, made his Majesty a present consisting of European wine, Brazilian tobacco, which is the most esteemed in China, one pound of gum storax, a piece of the finest linen, two painted quilts from Coromandel, several white pocket handkerchiefs of the finest description trimmed with lace, four embroidered purses, various kinds of scissors, knives, and small padlocks, three pounds of tartar, a mathematical instrument, two pots of balsam, six bottles of confectionary, with twelve jars of preserved quinces, eight stones of gaspar an-tonic, saffron, bark, oils, and medicinal roots.

On arriving at the palace, we showed our offering to the mandarins, but they would not receive it until we first took away the medicinal articles, and reduced the whole to even numbers, declaring that on such a day it was an evil omen to offer to his Majesty an odd number, or articles of medicine. Having carried back our gift, we discussed among ourselves whether it would not be better to offer nothing at all than to subtract the medical articles, and reduce the whole to even numbers; but the opinion of the majority was, that in order to avoid giving offence, it was expedient to make the present. Upon this I withdrew, leaving the others to do what they liked, and they took away the medical articles and made the numbers even. We afterwards returned to the palace, where, kneeling as usual before the mandarins, and wishing his Majesty every happiness, we declared that we felt ashamed to present such trifles. The Emperor returned in answer that he felt much pleasure in receiving the expression of our good wishes, and out of all the above-named articles, he made choice of thirteen, which was considered as a great favour. From each of the mandarins he only accepted one or two things, refusing all the rest. His Majesty afterwards conferred a particular honour on me, by sending me a box of European colours, which had been presented to him by one of his courtiers. On this occasion the whole city of Peking wore an appearance of festivity. All were habited in gala dresses, banquets were given without end, fireworks discharged, and every kind of rejoicing carried on as at the new year. But that which above all things struck me with astonishment, was the spectacle exhibited upon the royal road from Chan-choon-yuen

to Peking, which is about three miles in length. This road was adorned on both sides with an artificial wall composed of mats, and entirely covered with silks of the most beautiful workmanship, while at certain distances were erected fanciful houses, temples, altars, triumphal arches, and theatres, in which musical dramas were represented. So great was the abundance of silk that we Europeans all agreed in thinking that no kingdom in Europe possessed so much. Public prayers were also delivered by the mandarins in the numerous temples of the capital, for the safety of the Emperor and the continuation of his line; and at the same time various prostrations and sacrifices were made before a picture representing the monarch.

It is a universal custom in China, that during such solemnities no one should pass on horseback before any temple, but that all should alight, and proceed on foot. Being ignorant of this practice, I one day nearly transgressed it, when on a sudden I was surrounded by soldiers, with whips in their hands, who called out loudly "Down, down!" I immediately understood what this meant; but as I would not take any part in their superstitious ceremonies, I turned back my horse and galloped away, to the great amusement of the gazing crowd. Fortunately for me every one could see by my beard that I was a European; for if I had been a Chinese, without giving me the least intimation to dismount, the guards would have subjected me at once to the severe discipline of their whips.

CHAPTER XVI.

Public Rejoicings—Provincial Deputations—Strawberries and Asparagus—
The First Pupil—Regard of the Chinese for their Beards—Russian
Priests.

ON the 11th of the same month the Emperor went in state from Chan-choon-yuen to his palace in Peking, allowing every one to see him. On ordinary occasions his Majesty is always preceded by a great number of horsemen, who clear the streets entirely, causing all the houses and shops to be shut, and a canvas to be drawn before every opening, so that no one might see him. The same precautions are taken when the Emperor's ladies, or those of his sons, are about to pass. His Majesty generally comes forth on horseback, and the ladies are always conveyed in close carriages. Upon this celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the Emperor's birth, the openings were not stopped nor the doors shut, nor were the people driven away. The streets and roads were now crowded with countless multitudes desirous of beholding their sovereign. He rode on horseback, wearing a robe covered with dragons, magnificently embroidered in gold, and having five claws, the five-clawed dragon being exclusively worn by the imperial family. He was preceded by about two thousand horse-soldiers, in splendid array, and immediately followed by the princes of the blood, who were succeeded by a great number of mandarins. After these came a large body of soldiers, marching in a promiscuous mass, without observing any order. We Europeans were disposed in a rank near a bridge at no great distance from the palace, where we awaited the arrival of his Majesty upon our knees. On passing by, he paid particular attention to each of us, and smilingly inquired which were those employed in drawing the map.

A vast number of aged but healthy men had been sent to

Peking from all the provinces. They were in companies, bearing the banner of their respective provinces. They also carried various other symbols and trophies, and being symmetrically drawn up along the streets through which the Emperor was to pass, they presented a very beautiful and uncommon appearance. Every one of these old men brought a present of some kind to the Emperor, which generally consisted of vases and other articles in bronze. His Majesty gave to each of them twelve silver tael, a coin worth about five shillings, together with a gown of yellow silk, which is the imperial colour. They afterwards assembled all together in a place where the Emperor went to see them; and it was found that this venerable company amounted to four thousand in number. His Majesty was highly gratified with this spectacle; he inquired the age of many, and treated them all with the greatest affability and condescension. He even invited them all to a banquet, at which he made them sit in his presence, and commanded his sons and grandsons to serve them with drink. After this, with his own hand, he presented every one of them with something; to one who was the most aged of the whole assembly, being nearly a hundred and eleven years old, he gave a mandarin's suit complete, together with a staff, an inkstand, and other things.

Many compositions in verse and prose were produced on this auspicious occasion, and some of our missionaries humbly petitioned his Majesty for a copy of the collection to send to Europe, which he granted, commanding Father Bovet to translate them. In these poems divine titles and honours were given to Kang-hy, who was indeed held in such veneration throughout China, that he often received the appellation of *Fo*, a national deity universally adored, both by Tartars and Chinese. I myself very frequently heard him designated as the living *Fo*.

Don Pedrini had constructed a small organ, which being moved by clock-work played a tune whenever a spring was touched. He carried it to the palace, and requested the mandarin Chao to present it to the Emperor. But this courtier, perceiving that Pedrini was becoming a favourite, declined to receive it, and presented another self-acting instrument of the same description. Not long after Chao fell ill, and Pedrini, taking advantage of the opportunity, carried his organ to the

palace. The other mandarins, deeming it their duty to please the sovereign rather than Chao, presented it to his Majesty, who accepted it kindly, expressing himself highly delighted at the invention.

As the Emperor could not bear to remain long in the same place, after returning from Peking to Chan-choon-yuen, on the 2nd of June he departed for Je-hol with his usual retinue. Throughout the journey old men and women were seen standing in ranks near their dwellings, with flowers in their hands, waiting till his Majesty arrived, to wish him a long and happy life. At other times no one was permitted to see the Emperor pass ; but this year being the completion of a Chinese century of his age, this favour was granted, but only to old people.

On arriving at Je-hol, we Europeans were requested by order of his Majesty to explain what was the use of strawberries, and how they were eaten in Europe. During all my journeyings in China I had never seen any strawberries, and I had only remarked a few of these plants among the mountains of Tartary. I was however informed that they might be found also in some wild parts of China, but that no care was taken to cultivate them. Yet the Emperor, having understood that we were fond of them, caused them to be planted in his gardens, and even bestowed much care upon their cultivation. I observed also that hops and asparagus grew in Tartary ; but both the Chinese and the Tartars laughed on hearing me say that these plants were highly esteemed in Europe.

When I had finished engraving the views of the imperial mansion of Je-hol, I presented the prints to his Majesty, who was greatly pleased with them, and commanded that a large quantity should be taken off for his sons, grandsons, and other princes. Being well satisfied with the manner in which I had bound these thirty-six views of Je-hol in one volume, he ordered me to engrave and arrange together in the same manner the great map of the empire, which I afterwards executed in forty-four plates, as may be seen in the hall of our college.

Upon the return of the Emperor to Je-hol, I baptized a youth of the age of thirteen, whose parents were Christians. As I had remarked, from my first acquaintance with him, that he possessed certain excellent qualities suitable to the priestly office, I under-

took to instruct him in all that is necessary for a Christian missionary. He was the first youth that I took with me for this purpose ; and he afterwards followed me to Naples, where he became the senior student in this institution at which I am now writing.

In November, 1715, I was summoned into the presence of the Emperor, to act as interpreter to two Europeans, a painter and a chemist, who had just arrived. While we were awaiting his Majesty's pleasure in one of the anterooms, a eunuch addressed my companions in Chinese, and was angry because they returned no answer. I immediately told him the cause of their silence, upon which he said, that we Europeans were all so alike that it was scarcely possible to distinguish one from another. "I had often heard the same remark from other persons, our resemblance being generally attributed to the long beards we all wore. The Chinese do not shave ; but their beards are so thin that the hairs might be counted : the few they have, however, they value even to ridicule. Father Perreyra having once perceived a white hair on the face of a mandarin, with whom he was familiarly acquainted, hastened to pluck it out, supposing that he did him a service. The mandarin, on the contrary, was both vexed and grieved at the loss ; and picking up the hair, he wrapped it carefully in a piece of paper, and took it home. The Emperor himself was not exempt from this weakness. He once commanded Father Rod, who acted as his surgeon, to cure him of a boil that had formed upon his face. Father Rod prescribed a plaster, saying that, in order to apply it properly, it would be necessary to cut off a few hairs from his Majesty's beard ; and the Emperor, after a long consultation with his looking-glass, ordered the most dexterous of his eunuchs to cut them. Immediately after the operation he looked at himself again, and, with marks of deep grief, he bitterly reproved the eunuch for having so grossly blundered as to cut off four hairs when three would have been quite enough.

There were in Peking an abbot and twelve priests, who had been sent by Peter the Great to administer spiritual comfort to the families of the Russian prisoners of war. As strange things were reported concerning these ecclesiastics, I resolved to make their personal acquaintance, with a view of sending an exact

account of them to the Propaganda. According to the custom of the country in which we were, I first sent a present to the abbot, then waited upon him myself. I found him courteous and dignified in his manners, and remarkably neat in his dress and furniture. Whenever he came out of his church he held a crucifix on his breast, and the pastoral in his hand. He was a schismatic, but with me he pretended to be a Catholic. He spoke just enough Latin to make himself understood; and as he told me that one of his priests, who was ill, could also speak this language, I went to see him, but all I could get out of the man was—*intelligit, intelligit*. The abbot told me that all the Christians of his sect in Peking scarcely amounted to fifty, and were descendants of prisoners of war, one of whom still lived, though far advanced in years. I asked him whether it was true that he had baptized a great number of Chinese. To this he replied that his christenings had been limited to the families of the Russian prisoners; that he did not attend to the Chinese because he was ignorant of their language, and the abandoned state of his own congregation required all his attention. Their church, which, like the temples of the Chinese idolaters, they call Miao, had upon its front a cross like ours, but with two transversal bars besides. They call God Fo, which is the appellation of an idol, and their clergy Lamas, like the priests of Fo. They officiate in their church without any ceremony, admitting men and women at the same time, which in China is considered nothing less than an abomination. The men remain uncovered as we do in Europe; but our Christians in China, including the officiating priest, keep covered the whole time, the Chinese considering this as a mark of respect. Although the abbot was so elegant in his dress, the priests under him had a mean and shabby appearance; and I even saw some of them at play in the public streets before the church; which in China is absolutely indecorous, and not to be done by any person of the least respectability.

CHAPTER XVII.

Dread of the Plague—Death of Father Tilisch—Alarm among the Christians—Firmness of the Emperor—His Avarice—Origin of the Chinese College.

IN the summer of 1716 there was a great deal of illness at Je-hol, and the Emperor became apprehensive that it might be the plague. He therefore ordered all the physicians at his court to visit the sick singly, and to draw up a separate report of each case, pointing out the remedies required. All the Europeans at Je-hol, as well as two lamas who had the reputation of being well acquainted with the medical science, received the same command from his Majesty. We all went our rounds; but we Europeans, not being physicians, refused to prescribe remedies. The mandarins, however, insisted on our conforming to the imperial will; and when my turn came, after vainly protesting my ignorance of medicine, I allowed the words to escape me that I knew what to prescribe for those suffering from costiveness. Upon this, they pressed me eagerly to name the remedy; and I told them of a mechanical one, which, on being explained to the Emperor, amused his imperial Majesty amazingly. What rather astonished me on this occasion was to hear the two lamas talk, with clearness and propriety, about the circulation of the blood, and the animalcules engendered when it is impaired.

On the 8th of September of this year I suffered a heavy loss in the death of Father Tilisch, with whom I had made the journey from Canton to Peking, and had lived ever since in the houses that the Emperor gave us at Chan-choon-yuen and Je-hol. He died of a tedious and loathsome disease, through which I nursed him with unwearied devotion; and the Emperor, who had a great regard for him, was exceedingly pleased at what I did for him. My lamented friend was buried in the cemetery of the Portuguese missionaries at Peking, whither it was my lot to

accompany him. It being strictly forbidden to carry the dead through the gate used by the sovereign, we went by another road. I then saw another part of Tartary and of the great wall, travelling along defiles continually hemmed in by lofty and precipitous mountains.

At this period, Ching-mow, a military mandarin who resided at Kie-she, not far from Canton, sent a libel to the Emperor, in which he attempted to show that the foreign trade and the propagation of the Christian religion were highly detrimental to the empire. His Majesty handed it over to the Ping-poo, or Military Board, in order that, after giving due consideration to the charge, it might come to a proper decision regarding it. The Ping-poo answered that the matter, being of paramount importance, should be referred to the Kieu-king, or Supreme Board. The recommendation was followed, and the Kieu-king resolved that Canton should be closed against foreigners, our holy religion prohibited, all the Christians imprisoned, and their churches demolished.

On hearing this, the Europeans in Peking deputed three missionaries to plead their cause with the Emperor. These deputies waited upon his Majesty with a petition, wherein they dexterously reminded him of the existing laws in favour of the Christian religion; but, contrary to the general custom, they could obtain no answer. This made us apprehend that a severe persecution was preparing against us, and for some time we were in a state of extreme anxiety. Not long after, however, the viceroy of Canton, obeying, as it was supposed, a secret order of the Emperor, sent a report to the Ping-poo, in which he stated that the commerce of Canton could not endanger the safety of the empire, and should not be stopped, but that our religion should be suppressed. The following day the Emperor decreed that, conformably to the viceroy's report, the commerce of Canton should be re-opened, but that the suppression of the Christian religion should be suspended.

We then repaired to the palace for the purpose of expressing our gratitude to the Emperor; but before we had performed the indispensable prostrations, and returned thanks either by word of mouth or in writing, Wey, the first eunuch, came out of the imperial apartments, and addressed us with these words:—"His

Majesty says that you need not thank him, for he has granted you no favour, the decree by which the suppression of your religion is suspended being the same that he issued last year on a similar occasion. His Majesty is invariably true to his word, and never abrogates what he has once decreed."

Whenever we followed the Emperor from Peking to Je-hol, the expenses of our journey were defrayed by a pah-yen, that is, a custom-house officer, who was commanded to support us out of what he had gained in the exercise of his office. In 1718, however, his Majesty's avarice increasing as he advanced in years, he decreed that in future the pah-yen should pay into the imperial treasury what they were bound to supply for our maintenance, towards repairing the palace, the roads, and the bridges, and other similar purposes, amounting altogether to an exorbitant sum; and that these several items should be economically defrayed at his expense. In consequence of this new arrangement, each of us was now allowed one cart and four mules for the conveyance of his baggage, a tent, a horse, and twelve tahels a-month; but as we had to keep the horse at our expense, this allowance of about three pounds a-month was insufficient to meet our wants, and we were obliged to make up the remainder as well as we could.

In the month of June of the subsequent year, while following the Emperor to Je-hol as usual, I met, in the neighbourhood of Low-kwo-tien, several Christians, who had come to ask me to administer the holy sacrament to a woman who was dying in Koo-pa-kew, a place five miles distant, and close to the great wall. Koo-pa-kew contained about two hundred and fifty Christians, who deserved the praise and affection of the missionaries for their fervent attachment to our religion. Accordingly I went to confess the dying woman, after which I gave her the sacrament and the extreme unction. Yielding to the pressing entreaties of several persons, I devoted the remainder of the day to receiving their confessions; and when evening came, as the chapel continued to be full of people who awaited their turn, after taking a slight refreshment I resumed my work, and carried it on throughout the night without once closing my eyes; but as most of these deserted Christians had not been able to confess for a long time, their confessions were generally so long that I

could not listen to more than seventy-two. In consequence of this, the next morning, immediately after mass, I again betook myself to the confessional with unabated zeal, so that during a stay of three days I confessed one hundred and ninety-nine persons, administered the sacrament to one hundred and sixty-seven, and christened fifty-four.

Among those whom I baptized at Koo-pa-kew was the uncle of the sovereign of Mong-quo-pah, a state situated in the province of Kwey-chau, but almost independent of the Emperor of China, as is shown by a blank in the map of the empire which I engraved. This neophyte told me that, throughout his nephew's dominions, no idols, images, or deities were worshipped, and that consequently there were no temples nor bonzes, nor any other sort of priests. He asked for a good number of religious books to distribute among his fellow-countrymen, and prayed that a missionary might be sent to teach them the Holy Word.

The youth I had taken with me in 1714, with a view of bringing him up for the church, was a native of Koo-pa-kew. On this occasion I was pressed to receive three other boys from the same place, among whom was the blessed John In, of whom I shall say more hereafter. On arriving at Je-hol with these four boys, I caused a room to be fitted up with five partitions, each having a curtain in front, and in these I put four beds for them, and one for a gentleman whom I appointed to instruct them in the language and knowledge of the Chinese. I then established a division of time for prayers, spiritual conversation, study, and other occupations, so that my infant institution had more the appearance of a noviciate than of a school, as I called it. I did not call it a college, because at this period I had in truth no higher object than that of forming a mere school, which should end with my life in that same country. I well knew how much that vast field lacked labourers, and that Europe could not furnish them, the number of missionaries she had sent thither from 1580 to 1724 scarcely amounting to five hundred. I also knew that, however numerous and zealous the European missionaries might be, they could not produce any satisfactory results, in consequence of the formidable barrier of the language, which up to my time none had been able to surmount so as to make himself understood by the people at large. For these rea-

sons, and others which I think it unnecessary to state, I firmly believed that it was indispensable to establish in the church of God a religious community exclusively for the purpose of qualifying the natives for the apostolical ministry. But as I possessed neither the funds nor the convenience, or support required for so great an undertaking, I felt compelled to keep within a humbler sphere.

My brothers and other European friends, however, having heard of my intention of undertaking the education of young Chinese, meanwhile had sent me a liberal supply of money, which unexpectedly reached me at the very moment when it was wanted. As land in China produces twelve per cent. on the capital invested, and houses even as much as eighteen, the sum I thus received secured me a yearly income more than sufficient to cover my expenses. Nearly at the same time I also received two dispatches from Rome, by which his Holiness conferred on me the office of Apostolical Prothonotary, and the living of San Lorenzo, in Arena, in the diocese of Mileto, implying the privilege of wearing mitre and crosier. Encouraged by these various and distinguished favours of Divine Providence, I now aspired to extend my school, and to devote it exclusively to forming native ecclesiastics; but the malice with which my efforts were opposed both by Asiatics and Europeans, soon convinced me that God had disposed otherwise, and that China was not the spot in which my intended institution could prosper.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Chapels for Women—Chinese Jealousy—Don Pedrini arrested—Machinations against the School—Lucio—John In withdrawn—His Father's Death—His Return—A Dream.

On my return to Peking I established a chapel in the house of one of my penitents who lived near the Palace, so that the Christian women of the neighbourhood might perform their religious duties. This scheme having succeeded beyond my expectations, I erected another chapel in Peking, and one at Chan-choon-yuen, both for the exclusive service of women, who, owing to the excessive jealousy with which they are kept, could not enter the place of worship destined for men. The Jesuits had a church for women at Peking, but it was only opened once in six months. In other places where two churches could not be procured, the two sexes went to the same, but at different times; and on the day appointed for the women, it was necessary to place two guards at the door to prevent the intrusion of men.

To show how jealously the women of China are watched, and how cautious the missionaries ought to be, I will relate what happened to me at Chan-choon-yuen. One day when I was in the above-mentioned chapel, confessing in turn several women who were stationed behind a curtain, I observed a man passing to and fro before the door and watching my actions. When my duty was over, I asked the beadle who the man was, and what he wanted; and he replied with a smile, that he was a heathen but lately married to a Christian, who had stipulated that she should be allowed the free exercise of her religion. On the preceding day she had told him, that in the morning she would come to Atso-koong-foo, which means "to do the business," this being the manner in which the Chinese express confession. Not understanding what business his young bride could have to perform with another man, he had given her permission to come,

but had followed her by stealth, in order to watch her proceedings. The beadle having been informed of this, took no notice of him, in order that his mind might be relieved from any jealous suspicions. After he had watched for some time, finding that I remained seated and immovable, he approached the beadle, and said he thought we were mad, as we sat doing nothing while we pretended to have business to transact. The beadle explained the mystery to him, by informing him that the women on the other side of the curtain came one after the other to confess their transgressions, and that, after suitable correction and instructions, if repentant I absolved them, upon which explanation he went away apparently satisfied.

On the afternoon of the 8th of February, 1720, amidst the general rejoicing and feasting of a Chinese new year's day, two bailiffs seized our friend Don Pedrini in his apartment, bound his hands with a handkerchief, and led him away. Father Jartou and myself, anxious to ascertain the cause of his arrest, followed him to the imperial palace, whither he had been taken, and there we found that one of the eunuchs had made him go through the genuflections and prostrations with which it is customary on that day to pay homage to the Emperor. We were informed that he had been arrested because on that morning he had not joined the other Europeans in fulfilling that duty, especially as on the occasion of his Majesty's mother's death he had already been guilty of a similar neglect. The Emperor had only ordered that Don Pedrini should be desired to go and perform the ceremonies above-mentioned, and that, if he declined complying with the command, he should be dragged to the palace in chains, and compelled to obey; but the mandarin Chao, who was our sworn enemy, without waiting to see what Pedrini would do, had overstepped his instructions, and directed that our companion should at once be treated as a malefactor, in order to cast a slur upon us all.

The day after, mistaking my affliction for terror, the wily Chao took me aside, and under the pretence of anxious benevolence, exhorted me with all the power of his eloquence not to follow Pedrini's example, unless I wished to get into a similar scrape. The drift of all this was an insinuation that I should give up my school, and remain idle in that vast vineyard of the

Lord ; for he held my endeavours to form native ecclesiastics in absolute abhorrence, and was doing all in his power to frustrate them. He was assisted in this unholy work by several other courtiers, and even by some Europeans, who lived either in dread of his resentment, or under the sway of still baser feelings ; there was no stratagem which this perverse coalition scrupled to employ, if it was but likely to cause the dispersion of my school. One day they forged a letter from the parents of my pupils, saying, that as the soldiers I had confessed at Koo-pa-kew had refused to take part in the funeral rites of a deceased mandarin, they requested me to send their sons home. Another time they sent letters to the same Christians of Koo-pa-kew purporting that I kept their boys with me for abominable purposes, and that unless they were instantly withdrawn they would certainly incur some fearful punishment. Upon other occasions they tried to daunt my resolution by spreading all sorts of calumnious reports against my character, and hinting in various ways that the Emperor was on the eve of giving me some fearful mark of his displeasure.

Notwithstanding these vexatious proceedings, my pupils, their parents, and myself, were immoveable in our determination ; but wishing to irritate my enemies as little as possible, I resolved to take no more pupils than I already had. Accordingly I wrote to stop a certain Lucio U, who was to join us from the province of Nanking ; but my letter crossed him on the road, and when he reached my school after forty days' journey, I did not like to refuse him admission : happy would it have been for me had he never entered my doors, for he turned out to be the greatest affliction of my long and agitated life, as the reader will see.

Meanwhile the Emperor's birthday came, and we had to offer presents to his Majesty as usual. Don Pedrini presented a number of European curiosities, and the Emperor accepted twenty-four sheets of paper, thus showing that the Father was not quite out of favour. I offered my gift with considerable apprehension, not only because I was Pedrini's companion, but also because I had nothing in my possession that was worth offering ; it consisted of four pounds of European colours, a pound of tartar, six ounces of treacle, and a few fumigating pastiles.

Although these articles were of no value, his Majesty did me the honour of accepting them all. A few days after we met the Emperor in the garden of the Palace, and his Majesty asked Pedrini his age, thus showing that he began to receive him again into favour.

Perceiving after this that the name of the Emperor could no longer be used as a means of intimidation, the persecutors of my school now betook themselves to the expedient of sending to the Bishop of Peking a remonstrance, which was a tissue of most abominable inventions against my character. They stated, among other things, that it was highly discreditable to the Chinese mission that one of its members should travel about in the suite of the Emperor, with a carriage full of boys, just as some of the chief courtiers were doing, to the great scandal of the nation; and that in my case this was the more blameable, because at Je-hol I lodged in the house of the Emperor's uncle, whose son was Governor of the Nine Gates, and Censor of Morals. Unwilling to give offence to my powerful accusers, the bishop answered their communications in terms which appeared to imply that he disapproved of my conduct, and at the same time he advised me to dismiss three of my pupils, and to keep the other two as servants, teaching them nothing more than the Chinese characters. Hereupon I wrote a minute justification of all my proceedings, refuting each imputation by the assertion of facts which were calculated to make my enemies tremble for their own safety. The bishop instantly forwarded this to them, and they were so ashamed and alarmed that they gave me no farther annoyance through this channel.

At last, however, they succeeded in inducing John In's father to withdraw him from my care. On my passage through Koo-pa-kew, in the summer of 1720, this deluded man pretended to be ill, and pressed me to leave his son with him. I told him, in the presence of several other Christians, that, if his illness was a mere pretence, he did very wrong in thus reclaiming what he had offered up to God; to which, unfortunately for him, he answered that, if what he alleged were not true, he knew it would be an attempt to deceive the Almighty, and not me. On hearing this, I gave the boy my blessing, together with several presents, and we parted. The next morning he came

with his eldest brother to see me once more before my departure. I then asked him whether his father was really ill, as he had affirmed on the previous evening, and he replied, that on their arriving home, his father himself had told him that he was quite well, but had pleaded illness only as an excuse for taking him away from my school, as he had been assured that the Emperor was on the point of putting us all to death on account of our supposed malpractices.

The poor boy had passed the whole night in tears: his eyes were swollen; his countenance pale and emaciated. He threw himself at my feet, and tried to confess, but his constant sobs scarcely allowed him to articulate a word. After confession he spontaneously vowed to return to my school, and enter the church, as soon as the Lord should grant him an opportunity of so doing. I then exhorted him to patience, constancy, and confidence in God, and again blessed him; but as he continued to lament, saying that in those mountains of Koo-pa-kew he had no one to guide him in the path of salvation, I took from my neck the crucifix which had been my guide and comfort in all my travels, and gave it to him with the assurance that if he consulted His Divine Majesty he would receive far better spiritual lessons than from my poor self. Unable any longer to restrain my feelings, I hurriedly mounted my horse, and resumed my journey, overwhelmed with grief at this heart-rending separation.

Soon after my departure, while this youth was at his devotions, a friend suddenly came and informed him that his father was dying. He instantly rushed to his father's bed-side, but only arrived in time to see him expire. His father had been seized with an apoplectic fit, and calling for a physician instead of a confessor, he died without receiving the holy sacrament. This awful visitation made a great impression on the Christians of Koo-pa-kew, who viewed it as a punishment inflicted by the Almighty on the deceased for his impious behaviour. His father's funeral was no sooner over than John In wanted to join us again; but, notwithstanding his urgent prayers and entreaties, his mother would never allow him to do so. Taking advantage of her parental authority, she had even prepared chains and stocks wherewith to punish him had he attempted to escape. Finding himself thus debarred from the life that he so ardently

desired, he shut himself up in his room, where he spent his days and nights in tears, taking scarce any food. At the end of a month he was so thin and exhausted, that his mother, perceiving no other means of saving his life, at last allowed him to depart. The day of his unexpected return was one of rejoicing to us all. Pale and sad as he had latterly been, he now suddenly recovered, as if by miracle, his natural complexion and buoyancy of spirits, so that his brother burst into a flood of tears at this unexpected consolation.

There is a singular circumstance connected with this incident, which I will relate for the edification of my readers. On the morning of the 28th of the preceding month of March, my assistant informed me that he had heard John In weeping during the night, but had been unable to elicit from him the cause of his grief: hereupon I sent for the youth, and pressed him to say what ailed him. He then told me that he had been greatly distressed in his sleep by a dream which still continued to harass his mind with all the force of reality. In this dream, which he related to me, he had anticipated his withdrawal from school, the death of his father, the obduracy of his mother, his solitude and subsequent illness, and his eventual return to us; all of which was afterwards realised with a minuteness and accuracy of detail perfectly astonishing.

I have dwelt thus much on the obstacles against which I had to contend during the infancy of my institution, in order that others may take example, and never expect praise or assistance from man in the works which they undertake for the service of God, as, sooner or later, they will be amply rewarded by Him. All these storms raised by Satan against my frail little bark, on its first setting sail, were a favourable omen; for the great enemy of mankind would not have opposed its progress with so much malice if he had not dreaded the good results which it was destined to produce.

CHAPTER XIX.

Arrival of the Russian Embassy—Point of Etiquette—Imperial Manifesto—
Mutual Concessions.

On the 29th of November of the same year, 1720, Count Ismailof, who was sent on an embassy to his Celestial Majesty by the Czar, Peter the Great, made his public entry into Peking with a retinue of ninety persons, and the sound of trumpets, drums, and other military instruments. He was on horseback, and had a man of gigantic height on one side of him, and a dwarf on the other, both on foot. His retinue partly preceded and partly followed him; some on horseback, and others on foot; all with drawn swords, and in splendid array. Count Ismailof had a fine person and a noble expression of countenance: he spoke German, French, and Italian, and had some slight knowledge of Latin.

To conduct the negotiations with this ambassador the Emperor appointed a commission, consisting of a mandarin and two courtiers, all personages of great authority; and deputed five Europeans and a Chinese to serve as interpreters. Being one of the number, I had the honour of waiting on Count Ismailof together with the others. After an exchange of compliments, the ambassador said he had a letter from the Czar, which he was instructed to deliver into his Celestial Majesty's own hands; and on being questioned as to its contents, he produced a copy, and gave it to the commissioners. Louis Fan, the Chinese interpreter, was desired to read it; but the letter was written in Latin, and the poor man knew so little of this language, that he had been obliged to petition the Pope for a dispensation from reading mass every day. He muttered and mumbled till he wore out the patience of the bystanders; and when at length he was pressed to tell the meaning, he was obliged to confess that he could not make it out. The letter was then handed
o us, and we immediately read the contents. It imported that

the Czar, being desirous to strengthen the good understanding in which he had hitherto lived with the Emperor, had sent Count Ismailof as his ambassador, requesting his Majesty to listen to all the details that he would have to submit to him, and not to send him back to Moscow before the business on which he had been dispatched was completely arranged.

The commissioners were incessant in their inquiries respecting the business alluded to in the letter ; but the wary Ismailof constantly replied that he was forbidden to speak upon the subject until the letter had been received by the Emperor, and his diplomatic capacity acknowledged. As however the commissioners insisted upon having the first information, the ambassador, being at length overcome by their troublesome importunity, stated that the whole business consisted in the establishment of a treaty between the Russians and the Chinese, in order to avert any future misunderstanding. Whilst we were engaged in conversation with the ambassador, the dinner sent him by his Majesty arrived ; and when he was requested to return thanks, by making the accustomed prostrations, he refused, alleging that he represented his sovereign, who was on equal terms with the Emperor ; but that he would make an obeisance according to the custom of his country. The commissioners could not obtain any further concessions, and were obliged to be satisfied.

The Emperor having been immediately informed of this, was as much satisfied with the contents of the letter, and the business on which the ambassador had been sent, as he was displeased to hear of the reluctance which he had shown to perform the indispensable prostrations. But he dissembled ; and in order to obtain his object without coming to a rupture, he resorted to the stratagem of inviting Count Ismailof to a private audience, saying that he would receive the Czar's letter upon a subsequent occasion. The ambassador immediately perceived the snare, and returned thanks to his Majesty for the honour he was willing to grant him as a private individual ; but added that, as he was in the service of his sovereign, he must first beg to present his letter.

The Emperor then ordered us to inform the ambassador that, as he declined being presented to him before delivering the Czar's letter, his Majesty would neither receive the letter nor

the gifts sent him by the Czar; and that he might therefore return to Russia. To this Ismailof replied that, before executing the commission he had received from his sovereign, he could not receive any personal distinction; and when he was asked whether, in presenting the letter, he would perform the prostrations, he answered that he would not; but that he would make the obeisance which European ambassadors made before the princes to whom they were sent.

Upon this the Emperor commanded one of his principal eunuchs, a page, the master of the ceremonies, and the five European interpreters to inform the ambassador that, out of regard to the Czar, he had been induced to do him the honour which he had refused; that, according to the immutable ceremonial of China, it was incumbent upon ambassadors to make the prostrations, and to place the letter upon a table, whence it was taken by a great officer of state, and presented to his Majesty; that although such was the custom, he would waive it on that particular occasion, and receive him in the great hall: that, besides this manner of presenting any thing written to his Majesty, there was also the official channel of his government; and that he could choose which of the two ways suited him best. To the suggestion of the official channel, the ambassador replied with a smile; and with respect to the other, he answered that he was commanded by his master to deliver the letter into his Majesty's own hands, and that he could not take upon himself to depart from his instructions. The eunuch then told him that, if neither of these ways satisfied him, he might endeavour to meet the Emperor, as he was coming to Peking, and kneeling down before his Majesty, present him the letter on the public road. Count Ismailof also rejected this advice as indecorous towards his own sovereign, and persisted in saying that he would deliver the letter into the Emperor's own hands, in the place where he was accustomed to receive the ambassadors of other powers. At this presumption, highly offensive to Chinese pride, the eunuch smiled, and the page said that the ambassador must be mad; whereupon, without saying one word more, we all rose and broke up the conference.

The interpreters were again summoned to the palace, and a decree, written by the Emperor himself, was given to them for

translation, with the injunction that they should represent it as the work of his Majesty's ministers, and should request the ambassador to reply, categorically, to every particular. The translation was executed by one of us who was not in sufficient possession of the Tartar language to render several parts of the manifesto very clearly.

The subject of this imperial edict, which was supposed to be addressed by the Foreign Office to the ambassador, was as follows:—"The Emperor had hitherto received, and treated with great honour, all envoys of foreign powers; and as during many years he had been on a good understanding with the Czar, as soon as he was informed of the approach of his ambassador to Peking, he had sent some mandarins to meet him, furnishing him with horses, and whatever else was necessary in the journey. On the ambassador's arrival in Peking, one of his Majesty's eunuchs was sent to him with dishes from the imperial table, and a message that after a few days he would be received at court. His Majesty thought that all these favours might have induced him to give up his unreasonable pretensions of delivering the letter with his own hands, as he was no more than a representative of his master. This circumstance had awakened much suspicion upon his conduct. If he expected to receive the same honours as those that would be paid to the Czar if personally present in Peking, the marks of respect hitherto shown him were certainly insufficient, and other forms and ceremonies must be put in practice. He however was not the Czar, but merely his envoy, and even for that his Majesty did not consider the credentials as entirely satisfactory. Although he had boasted of being not only an ambassador, but also a prime minister, he might be a merchant, who, the better to succeed in his traffic, had disguised himself as an ambassador. But granting that he had really been dispatched by the Czar, and that he was in fact his ambassador, yet he ought not on this account to be so presumptuous, nor insist upon presenting his letter with his own hands, as one familiar friend would to another, without observing any of those ceremonies which in China are indispensable, as must have been known not only to him, but to the Czar also. In this manner it was impossible that he should ever attain the object of his embassy."

Such was the purport of this imperial manifesto, which concluded by directing that, as the conduct of the ambassador was so suspicious, the Foreign Office should make strict inquiries into the matter, and exact from him detailed explanations on every point.

When the translation was completed, the eunuch asked us whether the ambassador and the gentlemen of his suite understood the Latin language, and as we replied that they did but very little, he then desired me to make it in Italian. Fearing that Count Ismailof might suspect that I had some share in the invectives contained in the decree, and excite the Czar's hatred against the Propaganda, in whose service I was, I replied that the ambassador was better acquainted with the French than with Italian. Upon this the eunuch immediately ordered that the translation should be executed in the French language, and the task was accordingly confided to Father Parrenin. It was fortunate for me that he relieved me from this duty, as Count Ismailof actually conceived suspicions of the other interpreters, but never of myself. Had this been otherwise, it would have grieved me much, for afterwards he was recommended to me by the Bishop of Peking in the name of the Propaganda.

The French translation of the imperial decree, together with the original copy in Tartar characters, was conveyed by the mandarins to the ambassador without the aid of the interpreter. I was however informed that he did not appear in the least surprised at the blame thus bestowed upon him, and that he again expressed his determination not to make the required prostrations, and to present the letter with his own hands.

The mandarins returned to the ambassador with an answer also written by the Emperor himself, but with more condescension, and in the name of the government. Count Ismailof again declared in the same manner, that he would not make the prostrations, and demanded permission to place the Czar's letter himself in the hands of the Emperor.

His Majesty perceiving that the ambassador firmly persisted in this resolution, no longer corresponded with him in the name of the government, but sent several mandarins, accompanied by interpreters, of whom I was one, immediately from himself. We stated that the Emperor considered the family of the Czar as

his own, and that the Czar's honour was equally dear to his Majesty, with many other similar expressions which were made to bear upon the pending question. We added, that whenever he should send an ambassador to the Czar, he promised that his representative should stand uncovered before him, although in China none but condemned criminals exposed their heads bare, and should perform all the other ceremonies customary at Moscow. No sooner had we arrived at these words, than the chief mandarin instantly took off his cap before the ambassador; and the latter being thus satisfied, promised to perform the prostrations according to Chinese custom, and also to place the letter upon the table in sight of the Emperor sitting on his throne, so that one of the courtiers might afterwards convey it to his Majesty. The mandarin farther stated, that the ambassador had the imperial permission to repair to the gate of the palace in the same state as he had entered Peking, namely with drawn swords, music, and other distinctions. After this Count Ismailof endeavoured to justify his conduct, and produced the original instructions confided to him by the Czar, in which, among other things, he was commanded not to perform the prostrations, and to insist on delivering the letter himself into the hands of the Emperor. It was finally arranged that the ceremony should take place on the 9th of the same month.

CHAPTER XX.

Reception of Count Ismailof—Court Dinner—Eulogy of the European Missionaries—Presents—The Emperor's Advice to the Czar.

ON the appointed day Count Ismailof went to the palace to present the letter to the Emperor, with the usual ceremonies and prostrations, as had been agreed; and the presentation took place in the manner which I am about to describe.

After the ambassador and the ninety men of his suite had been kept waiting a good while in the open vestibule of the Great Audience Hall, the Emperor entered it, followed by the principal officers of state, and mounted his magnificent throne by some steps on the left, whilst every one else ascended on the right. His Majesty took his place in a chair gorgeously decorated, having on his right three of his sons seated upon cushions, and a little farther off, the halberdiers, pages, eunuchs, chief courtiers, and ourselves, all standing; we interpreters wearing the dress and insignia of great mandarins. At the foot of the throne, on the floor of the Great Hall, sat upon cushions, in distinct rows, the first mandarins of the empire, the Koong-yeh, or lords of the imperial family, and many other mandarins of inferior rank. Before the throne, near the entrance of the Great Hall, stood a table prepared with sweetmeats for his Majesty. In the open vestibule, which was a few steps lower than the Great Hall, there was another table, beyond which Count Ismailof was standing. According to Chinese etiquette, the ambassador should have placed the letter upon this table, kneeling down in the vestibule; but the Emperor ordered that the table should be brought into the Audience Hall, and that the ambassador should also advance, which was a mark of great honour.

Count Ismailof then entered, and immediately prostrated himself before the table, holding up the Czar's letter with both hands. The Emperor, who had at first behaved graciously to

Ismailof, now thought proper to mortify him, by making him remain some time in this particular posture. The proud Russian was indignant at this treatment, and gave unequivocal signs of resentment by certain motions of his mouth, and by turning his head aside, which under such circumstances was very unseemly. Hereupon his Majesty prudently requested that the ambassador himself should take up the letter to him, and when Count Ismailof did so, kneeling down at his feet, he received it with his own hands, thus giving him another mark of regard, and granting what he had previously refused.

After the presentation of the letter, the ambassador, attended by the master of the ceremonies, returned to his former place in the open vestibule. Shortly after, he moved to the centre opposite the chair in which the Emperor was sitting; behind him stood his principal attendants, and further back a number of soldiers and servants.

When all present were thus marshalled in due order, at particular signals given by the master in chief of the ceremonies, they all went down upon their knees, and after the lapse of a few minutes, beat their heads thrice to the ground. After this all arose upon their feet, then again kneeled down and prostrated themselves three times. In this manner they kneeled thrice, and performed nine prostrations.

The ambassador was then conducted again to the Emperor's feet, and was asked by his Majesty, through us interpreters, who were standing, what request he had to make. Count Ismailof answered in the French language, that the Czar had sent him to inquire after the health of his Majesty, and to confirm the friendly relations that existed between them; and that he himself also took the liberty of inquiring after the state of his Majesty's health.

To these inquiries the Emperor replied in a very courteous manner; and then added, that it being a feast day, it would not be proper to discuss business, for which an audience would be granted at another opportunity. He then commanded Count Ismailof and his attendants to be seated. The ambassador was then permitted to sit down upon a low cushion at the end of the row in which were the Koong-yeh, as mentioned above, and four of his principal attendants were placed behind him at the ex-

tremity of the next row. All his other followers were directed to remain in the vestibule. When they were all seated, his Majesty began to speak, addressing his discourse to the ambassador, and said that he was not to be surprised at seeing the European missionaries of our party habited in the dress and decorations of great mandarins: that we were not mandarins, but only apparelled as such by his command, so that we might take part in the ceremony, to which none but persons in that costume could be admitted; but that although we were not mandarins, it was not to be inferred that we were unworthy of such distinction, but merely unwilling to be elevated to this dignity, as well as other honours, which he would otherwise gladly have bestowed. He also wished the ambassador not to feel surprised at our being placed nearer to the throne than himself, or the great mandarins and lords, as ours was an exceptional place, granted only for that particular occasion, while that occupied by Ismailoff was in the rank of his own grandees. He moreover desired him to understand that we Europeans were not residing at Peking by force or constraint, like prisoners of war, and so brought to the capital, but that we had come from distant countries of our own free-will to offer him our services; and that even on that day we had assisted him as interpreters not by command, but merely by invitation. He lastly declared, that during the whole of his reign we had committed no fault deserving even a reprimand; and that he gave us such marks of his affection because he wished to gain ours. His Majesty was pleased on that day to say from his throne these and many other things in praise of the Europeans, not only for the information of the ambassador, but also to justify himself before his courtiers, who were astonished to see us so highly honoured.

When the Emperor had finished his eulogy of the Europeans, he put many questions to the ambassador upon various subjects. After these he called him to the throne, and with his own hands gave him some wine in a gold cup, an act of condescension which he also bestowed on his four principal attendants above-mentioned. He then commanded his great officers of state to summon the remaining persons composing the ambassador's suite to the door of the Great Hall, in parties of five, and to serve them with drink. In the meantime a table of sweetmeats was con-

veyed to the ambassador, and then another upon which were dishes from the Emperor's own table. As all the company were seated in the Tartar fashion, that is, with the legs crossed, and upon very low cushions, the tables were scarcely a foot high. All those who were seated on the floor of the Great Hall, as well as ourselves, were each furnished with a little table, and thus we all ate and drank, his Majesty continuing on the throne.

During the repast, the Emperor ordered his musicians to play and sing in the Chinese fashion; and after this two youths were introduced, who danced with so much elegance, that we Europeans were much astonished at the performance. In the vestibule, where the ambassador's suite was entertained, the same kind of amusements were provided; and after two hours had been thus passed, the Emperor retired, and we proceeded to another part of the palace to join the other Europeans. Here we all prostrated ourselves before the mandarins, and returned thanks to his Majesty for the honour he had done us by the great eulogy above-mentioned. His Majesty sent a message to us by the eunuch Ching-foo, importing that he had thus spoken in our favour, in order, by making our good qualities generally known, to palliate anything of a contrary nature; and that although he had punished Pedrini, that fact must be considered as a family transaction, for he had behaved towards him as a father to his son, without any publicity.

On the following morning the Emperor sent a dinner to the ambassador and the whole of his suite; and as his Majesty was at Chan-choon-yuen, and the ambassador at Peking, we were obliged to perform a journey of three hours on horseback. The eunuch put so many questions to the ambassador, partly by command and partly to satisfy his own curiosity, that we were detained till three o'clock in the afternoon. We then returned to the palace at a gallop; and as I had not yet broken my fast, I found myself so weak, that it was with great difficulty I could keep my seat upon the horse. This kind of hardship I experienced very often, but I only mention it to show the kind of honourable galley-slaves we were at the imperial court.

Upon a certain day appointed for the purpose, the ambassador presented the gifts sent by his sovereign, consisting of two watches studded with diamonds, a clock in a case of crystal,

containing a portrait of the Czar, which was not at all relished by the Chinese, who did not like to see the portrait of the Czar thus publicly exhibited ; a beautiful casket likewise adorned with crystal ; eight large mirrors, some cases of mathematical instruments, a large hemisphere, a level, a microscope, some telescopes, a hundred sable skins, the same number of ermine and of fox ; and some articles turned by the Czar himself. His Majesty accepted all these presents, which, as I said elsewhere, was a mark of especial honour ; and gave the ambassador, and each of his four principal attendants, an enamelled snuff-box, made in his imperial manufactory.

When the Emperor had accepted these presents, the ambassador and two gentlemen of his suite were again received by his Majesty in his private apartments, where, after performing the usual prostrations, they were again invited to a repast, of which we interpreters were also allowed to partake. Upon this the conversation turned exclusively on the peace which it was expedient to preserve between the two monarchies, during which the Emperor repeatedly commanded the Russians to listen in silence, and to write in their language what he was going to say, so that they might report it to their master. He likewise ordered the Tartars to record it in their language, and us Europeans in ours, and to furnish the ambassador with an accurate translation, that he might carry to his sovereign the important piece of advice he wished to send him. His Majesty then began to speak, and after a bombastic preamble, said that the peace and welfare of the two nations depended on the Czar's health ; and that, having heard how he delighted in marine excursions, he was desirous to warn him against the inconstancy of the sea, lest he should thus expose himself to destruction. At the conclusion of this solemn illustration of the old saying, "*Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus,*" Count Ismailof had great difficulty in refraining from laughter, as he himself afterwards told me.

As the Emperor's elephants are kept near the house of the Portuguese Jesuits, his Majesty ordered that upon a certain day the ambassador and the four principal officers of his suite should be entertained by these missionaries, and then escorted to see the imperial stables. There were thirty-three elephants instructed to perform various feats and tricks, which they executed in the

presence of the ambassador, blowing trumpets with their trunks, and kneeling or dancing at the command of their keepers.

The day after we returned to the palace with Count Ismailof and his secretary, when his Majesty gave each of them a superb dress of sables, a vase of fine metal, and two glasses of wine.

The ambassador was also invited to dine at the residence of the French Jesuits, who gave him a sumptuous entertainment, enlivened by the best music to be found in those parts, which is not at all disagreeable to the ear; this was followed by dances, and tricks of legerdemain, which excited the admiration of all the company.

On the 13th of March, 1721, Count Ismailof departed with his train from Peking on his way back to Moscow, taking with him many valuable presents sent by the Emperor to the Czar. As my attention was then engrossed by other matters, I will not attempt to describe these presents, or any other transaction of the embassy, lest I should commit any error. I will only add one incident, which may perhaps give an idea of the immense wealth of the Chinese monarch. One day I was commanded to show to the ambassador and some of his attendants his Majesty's collection of clocks and watches. On entering the room, Count Ismailof was so astonished at the number and variety of these articles displayed before him, that he suspected they were counterfeit. I then requested him to take some of them in his hand, and having done so, he was surprised to find them all perfect. But his astonishment increased still more when I told him that all the clocks and watches he now saw were intended for presents, and that his Majesty possessed a still greater number, placed in various parts of his palaces for his own use.

CHAPTER XXI.

The Emperor in Bed—Life at Je-hol—A quid pro quo—Hard Living—
Illness of Scipel.

DURING the stay of the Russian embassy in Peking, Dr. Volta, a Milanese priest and physician, arrived at Chan-choon-yuen, and I was summoned to accompany him when he was introduced to the Emperor. After asking him a few questions, his Majesty commanded him to feel his pulse. Dr. Volta immediately obeyed, but remarked that, in order to form a correct opinion of the state of his Majesty's health, he must feel his pulse on that evening and the next morning. This being therefore repeated when the Emperor went to bed, and then again before he arose, the physician pronounced him to be in an excellent state of health. I observed on this occasion that his Majesty's bed was wide enough to contain five or six persons, and had no sheets. The upper part of the mattress, as well as the under part of the quilt, was lined with lambs'-skin, and the Emperor slept between these, without wearing any night-clothes. As it seldom happens that an Emperor is seen in bed by strangers, he said to us, "You are foreigners, and yet you see me in bed." We replied that we had that honour because his Majesty treated us as his sons; whereupon he added, "I consider you as members of my own house, and very near relatives."

The life to which I was doomed this year, when we went to Je-hol, was quite that of a prisoner. The Emperor being much pleased with Scipel's sculptures, thought proper, lest the artist should work for any one else by stealth, to shut him up in his inner palace, appointing me to be his interpreter. The outer palace, to which the Emperor repaired on certain days of the week for the transaction of business, had a guard of soldiers, and was open to all the officers of state; but the inner one, containing his Majesty's seraglio, was guarded by eunuchs, and even sons and nephews of the Emperor were excluded. If by any

accident a stranger was required to enter it, he could only do so under the escort of twenty eunuchs, who took every possible precaution to prevent him from seeing any of the female inmates.

According to a custom strictly observed in China, the Emperor cannot inhabit the apartments which were occupied by his parents, nor use the throne of his predecessor; and as his Majesty's mother had died a few years before, Scipel and I were commanded to take possession of her empty house. It consisted of a small parlour, and a few other apartments; and was built within a small garden, at the top of a delightful little promontory, which commanded a lake of some extent. By bringing the water of the river which flows close by Je-hol into his gardens, the Emperor had formed the lake, and a number of canals, which were plentifully stocked with fresh-water fish.

On the other side of the lake there was a cottage opposite to our own, whither his Majesty often retired to study, accompanied by some of his concubines. As the windows in China are as high and broad as the rooms themselves, and in summer are kept wide open on account of the heat, through the holes in ours, which were framed with paper, I saw the Emperor employed in reading or writing, while these wretched women remained sitting upon cushions, as silent as novices. Through these holes I also observed the eunuchs while they were engaged in various ways of fishing. His Majesty would then sit in a superb little boat, with five or six concubines at his feet, some Tartar and others Chinese; all dressed in their national costumes. The boat was always followed by many others, all loaded with ladies.

When the Emperor's presence was required in the outer palace on some business, he generally went by water; and, as he necessarily passed under my window, I also saw him. He always came in a boat with some concubines, and with a train of other boats loaded with ladies. On reaching the spot where, by a secret door, he entered the room in which he gave audience, he left the concubines behind, in charge of the eunuchs. I saw him several times about the gardens, but never on foot. He was always carried in a sedan-chair, surrounded by a crowd of concubines, all walking and smiling. Sometimes he sat upon a high seat, in the form of a throne, with a number of eunuchs standing around him; and, watching a favourable moment, he sud-

denly threw among his ladies, grouped before him on carpets of felt, artificial snakes, toads, and other loathsome animals, in order to enjoy the pleasure of seeing them scamper away with their crippled feet. At other times he sent some of his ladies to gather filberts and other fruits upon a neighbouring hill, and pretending to be craving for some, he urged on the poor lame creatures with noisy exclamations until some of them fell to the ground, when he indulged in a loud and hearty laugh. Such were frequently the recreations of his Imperial Majesty, and particularly in the cool of the summer evenings. Whether he was in the country, or at Peking, he saw no other company but his ladies and eunuchs; a manner of life which, in my opinion, is one of the most wretched, though the worldly consider it as the height of happiness.

While staying at this cottage, I was one day informed by one of the eunuchs, that if I wished to see a Holy Bonze, greatly renowned in China, I had but to look through the holes of the paper, and I should see him pass. I accordingly tried to see; but instead of directing my view towards the north, where the said Bonze was passing, I looked towards the west, and I discovered upon the shore of the lake a person clothed in a scarlet mantle, with a splendid head-dress of jewels, similar to those represented upon the heads of Chinese goddesses. To this person a little boy, about five years old, was speaking on his knees. The eunuch asked me what I thought of the divine Bonze. I replied that it was a lamentable thing that one so beautiful and so young should so soon have learned the art of deception; having already persuaded the Emperor that he knew how to render man immortal, and actually causing himself to be adored as a divinity by one of his Majesty's children. The eunuch, hearing me talk of youth, beauty, and adoration, asked me in what direction I had been looking. "Towards the west," I answered; at which he laughed heartily, and told me to look towards the north, as it was not too late. Following his direction, I now perceived the Bonze in a little boat, accompanied by eunuchs, who were conveying him to the Emperor; and I was afterwards informed by my friend, that the idol which I had seen was no other than one of his Majesty's principal concubines, who, being indisposed, was taking the air upon the shores

of the lake ; and that the child whom I had seen kneeling before her was her son.

Every morning, except on feast days, Scipel and I repaired to our cottage by break of day, that is, before the ladies left the seraglio ; and there we were obliged to remain till they were again secured in their apartments, which generally happened about sun-set. During the hot months, however, they sometimes stayed out of doors till nearly one o'clock in the morning, and then the eunuchs detained us until that late hour. We were supplied with food from the imperial kitchen, but it was always cold, and not being accustomed to this, we suffered greatly.

In his latter years the Emperor had become very economical ; and on hearing that our food was furnished from his table, he sent his eunuch Ching-foo to inquire whether we continued to receive the twelve taels per month which he had allowed us for our provisions. I replied in the affirmative ; and the eunuch reprimanded me sharply, as having attempted to extort a double allowance ; but he was not a little confused when I informed him, that so far from making such an attempt, we often petitioned to be permitted to dine in our own house, according to the manner of our country, and our prayer had never been answered. His Majesty was soon convinced of the rectitude of our conduct, but he did not like us to leave the cottage in the evening, lest we should meet any of his concubines. All we obtained was, that we need not in future enter the Palace at sun-rise, but four hours after, when the ladies retired to dinner. Trifling as this change was, we both rejoiced at it, for it just gave us time enough to set our household in order, and to perform religious duties which we had long been obliged to neglect.

My constitution having already suffered greatly from various causes, I was afraid that this mode of living might entirely destroy it ; but though I had been from my youth of a spare habit of body, I now began to grow fat and strong. In the morning before going to the cottage, I ate as much as my stomach would bear ; in the afternoon I took a piece of bread, which I brought with me, and drank tea with it ; and upon returning home, I supped with an excellent appetite. But Scipel was not so fortunate. His constitution sank gradually day by day, till at last a long and serious illness nearly deprived him of his life.

CHAPTER XXII.

Death of the Emperor Kang-hy—Funeral Rites—Punishment of two great Mandarins.

EARLY in the year 1722 I was appointed interpreter and guide to Father Angelo, the Emperor's watchmaker; and as we spent the whole day in the imperial collection of clocks and watches at Peking, which was more than two hours' journey from our apartments at Chan-choon-yuen, the mandarins ordered that we should lodge in the houses of the French or Portuguese Jesuits. The resident superiors, however, refused to receive us, under pretence that they had no accommodation. Hereupon I resolved to seize the opportunity, and attempt to establish a house in Peking for the use of the missionaries sent by the Propaganda, hoping that the Emperor would not object to the foundation, or else that he would compel the Jesuits to lodge us. I therefore purchased a dilapidated edifice, in a good situation, within the yellow wall, which I almost wholly rebuilt, without allowing the French and Portuguese Jesuits to discover what I was doing; and as soon as it could be inhabited, Father Angelo and myself took up our residence there, to our ineffable delight.

In the meantime his Majesty, who was at Hae-tsoo, the ancient country-mansion of the Chinese emperors, was suddenly seized with inflammation. This illness is not so common in the north of China as it is in the south of Italy, owing perhaps to the difference of climate; for in Peking, from September till March the cold increases in uniform gradation, and from March to September decreases in the same manner, while at Naples the weather passes from one extreme to another in the course of the same day, owing to the prevailing sciroccos. In consequence of this illness his Majesty returned to his palace of Chan-choon-yuen, also called Hae-tien. One or two days after, the Europeans came there to inquire after the state of his Majesty's health; and

on this occasion the French and Portuguese Jesuits, who had discovered the purchase I had made, offered to accommodate me in their houses, but I declined with thanks. They observed that the Emperor, on learning what I had done, might be angry with us all; and I replied that, though it was not my fault, I was ready to abide by the consequences.

On the 20th of December, 1722, I was talking after supper with Father Angelo in the house of his Majesty's uncle, where we resided, when I heard an unusual murmuring noise, as if arising from a number of voices within the palace. Being acquainted with the manners of the country, I instantly caused the doors to be locked, and remarked to my companion that either the Emperor was dead, or else that a rebellion had broken out at Peking. In order to satisfy myself as to the cause of the disturbance, I climbed up on the wall of our dwelling, which skirted the public road, and saw with astonishment an innumerable multitude of horsemen, riding furiously in every direction, without speaking to each other. After watching their movements for some time, I at last heard some persons on foot say that the Emperor Kang-hy was dead. I was afterwards informed that, when given over by his physicians, he had appointed as his successor his fourth son, Young-Chin, who immediately began to reign, and to be obeyed by everybody. One of the first cares of the new Emperor was to have the corpse of his father clothed, and conveyed the same night to the palace at Peking, attending it himself on horseback, followed by his brothers, children, and relatives, and escorted by a countless host of soldiers with drawn swords. The next morning I repaired to Peking with Father Angelo and Scipel, for the purpose of going to the palace, to show our concern for the death of Kang-hy; but we were not admitted that day or the following.

I have already described what I and the other Europeans had done upon the death of Kang-hy's mother. The same ceremonies were now to be performed for the death of the deceased Emperor. We entered the palace with the other missionaries, all clothed in mourning, and went directly to the gate Isi-niu-cung, where we found the mandarins assembled. Some of the missionaries, after speaking aside with the mandarins, followed them to the entrance of the inner palace, where the corpse lay,

and the funeral rites were performed. I then observed to Father Rinaldi, who, being newly arrived, trusted entirely to my directions, that they were going towards the bier, but I did not know what ceremonies they intended to perform. Upon this Father Rinaldi asked them what they were going to do; and he received for answer, that there would be no improper or idolatrous sacrifices, no papers burnt, no libations of wine performed. On this assurance we followed the others; and through the gate already mentioned, we entered a spacious court, in which we found a vast number of mandarins upon their knees. They were all habited in mourning, and weeping; and from time to time, upon a signal from the master of the ceremonies, they all at once raised such a howl of lamentation as filled the sky; after which they performed their prostrations.

We were then ordered to kneel also, but in a place apart from the mandarins. In this position we wept with them, and made the same prostrations, not perceiving anything unlawful or unchristian in such marks of grief. During several days we repaired to the same spot, and repeated the same ceremonies.

When the funeral rites were over, I asked a mandarin who had assisted at the ceremony, in what manner it had been performed; and he replied, that during the whole time the body was lying in the palace no paper money had been burnt; but that, after the removal of the body to Kiah-Shian, the mountain of gold, a place immediately without the gate of the palace, such a quantity of paper money had been burnt that the air around was for a time clouded with smoke. He also told me that the Tien-tsien, or libation of wine, had been made, and had taken place in this manner:—The president of the Board of Rites presented a vessel of wine to the Emperor, who poured it into a large golden bowl; and at the same moment the master of the ceremonies gave a signal, at which the mandarins, and we missionaries with them, performed their prostrations. On hearing that we had, even unconsciously, taken part in this work of superstition, I was grieved and alarmed to a degree which it would be impossible for me to express; and in order to preclude the recurrence of such a misfortune, I resolved to quit that Babylon at any risk, and as soon as possible.

A few days after the Emperor Kang-hy's death, whilst the

funeral rites above mentioned were being performed, Young-Chin, his successor, marked his accession to the throne by an act of justice which struck the whole empire with astonishment. The mandarin Chao was seized by his command, loaded with heavy chains, and condemned to die under a wooden collar, which is a sort of walking pillory, weighing nearly two hundred pounds. The property of this arrogant courtier was confiscated, his family enslaved, and his concubines assigned to other persons. His Majesty, in a proclamation, declared that he had thus punished him for his pride, and for the ill use he made of his authority in persecuting the Europeans: all which I could but attribute to the decrees of an over-ruling Providence. Such was the end of the renowned Chao-Chang, who was the declared enemy of Cardinal de Tournon, and of all Christians in general.

An end still more deplorable than that of Chao awaited his intimate friend Mo-lao. This worthy had several months before proceeded to Macao, for the purpose of purchasing rich and beautiful articles from Europe, which he intended to present to the late Emperor; and, on receiving the intelligence of his death, he hastened to return and offer his collection to the new sovereign. His friends, who were well aware of the change that had taken place in public affairs, having witnessed the imprisonment of Chao, and many others of the nobility with whom he was connected, advised him to defer his return. He, however, relying upon the effect that his gift of valuable curiosities would produce, treated their counsel with contempt. On his arrival at Peking he presented his rich offerings to the Emperor, who did him the great honour of accepting them all. Of this I myself was a witness, as his Majesty, soon after his accession, commanded Scipel and me to work in the palace. A few days after Mo-lao was summoned to the court, and, expecting to receive some mark of distinction, he came with an air of triumph, arrayed in his most magnificent robes, and followed by a long train of attendants. He however found a far different reception from what he had anticipated. Scarcely had he entered a gate, near which Scipel and I were standing, when he was presented to the thirteenth brother of the Emperor, who, after bidding him kneel down, ordered him, in the name of his Majesty, immediately to join the army, then engaged in war against the Tartar

chief, Tsoo-wang-ar-pat-tan; adding that he was thus condemned on suspicion of felony, and that he must bear all the expenses attending the sentence. At this unexpected blow the unhappy Mo-lao was thunder-struck; but after a while, taking courage, he humbly submitted that he was wholly unfit for such a service, both from inexperience of arms and weakness of constitution, and he therefore implored the clemency of his Majesty for his exemption. But the prince, who perfectly understood the Emperor's object in insisting on such a command, replied, "Mo-lao, thou well knowest the custom of the court: obey, therefore, without reply, otherwise thou wilt be compelled;" after which he turned from him, and went away. Mo-lao returned home visibly altered, and upon his arrival great was the fear with which all the inmates of his house were seized, upon learning the unwelcome news. He lay upon his bed weeping bitterly, whilst his servants prepared his luggage for departure, and the day after he left the capital for the army upon the confines of the province of Shen-sy. When he had reached his destination he was conducted to the same house in which one of the Emperor's own brothers was confined, on the suspicion of having with criminal intention supplied him with money to purchase those presents, which were far too splendid for the means of any private individual.

The two exiles, though shut up in separate apartments, contrived to correspond with each other, and to engage in a conspiracy, which being at length discovered, they were both conveyed to Peking, loaded with chains. Here the miserable Mo-lao, three different times, had his legs squeezed between two pieces of wood, which were drawn together with such force as nearly to break the bone, and under this torture he confessed himself guilty, but without implicating the prince. His confession was made public, and at the bottom of it was written his sentence of death, decreed by the Board of Rites.

This court had condemned Mo-lao to be beheaded, which in China is as disgraceful as the gallows in Europe, but the Emperor did not approve of the sentence, and commanded him to be again conducted into the province of Shen-sy. He was accordingly conducted thither in chains, without being permitted to see any one of his family, or to have any of his servants to attend him, and on arriving at the place of his destination, he

was kept prisoner in a Tartar temple for several months. At last he was informed that the Emperor condemned him to die by *his own hands*, and the executioner, after freeing him from his chains, gave him a cup of poison, a halter, and a dagger, that he might choose for himself whichever death he preferred, but he left him no food. The next day the executioner returned, expecting to find him dead; but seeing that he was still alive, he urged the necessity of instant execution: Mo-lao then taking off a coat of mail adorned with gold, gave it to the man to get more time allowed. The executioner accepted the gift, and went to the mandarins to report that he had not yet killed himself; but on the following day, finding him once more alive, he stifled him beneath a sack of sand. After this his body was burnt, and, to complete the tragedy, his ashes were scattered to the winds.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Exclusion of Europeans from the Imperial Palace—Plotting—Death of the Emperor's Mother—Difficulties—Final resolution to depart.

THE remains of the Emperor Kang-hy were now to be removed into Tartary, to the tombs of his ancestors, and we received an order to accompany them to a certain distance out of the gates of the capital. But as we knew that the funeral procession would frequently stop to perform sacrifices and oblations, we resolved to take no part in the superstitious practices of those heathens, and not to attend. Lest, however, I should give my inveterate enemies a pretext against me, when the head of the procession was more than two miles in advance, so that we could not even see their proceedings, Scipel and I mounted on horseback, and followed the multitude as far as the place to which we had orders to go. During my long stay in China, I never had experienced anything so vexatious and mortifying as the necessity under which I was of resorting to so unmanly a device in order to spare my conscience without endangering my personal safety.

A few months after, all the Europeans were summoned to appear before the Too-yoo-soo, or Board of the Imperial Household, when the mandarins informed us in the name of the Governor, who was the seventeenth brother of the Emperor, that for the future, when they wanted anything, they must no longer go to the palace, but communicate with the Board. In consequence of this measure, which has certainly emanated from the Sovereign, the Europeans were excluded from the imperial residence, to which they had hitherto been admitted; and from that day forward no one of them was allowed to enter it unless by his Majesty's especial permission, as in Scipel's case and my own.

Although my enemies were greatly humbled by the fall of the

mandarins Chao-chan and Mo-lao, yet the malignity of their conduct continued unchanged. Their shafts were ever aimed at me and my friends, to prevent our establishment in Peking. Two months had now passed since I was informed that they were plotting to compel us to reside with the French and Portuguese Jesuits. They were aware that I had already purchased a house, and that Pedrini was treating for another still larger. They also knew that I had opened two chapels in which religious ceremonies were performed, and that Pedrini intended to do the same. For these reasons they feared that by degrees we might assume the spiritual direction of all the Christians in Peking, and thus they laboured to prevent it, by forcing us to live with the other Europeans, so that we might have no particular church wherein to officiate.

But Kang-hy's death brought a new state of things, and they could succeed in none of their projects. Nevertheless, in consequence of their evil practices, I was summoned before the Too-yoo-soo, and ordered to produce in writing the names, country, age, and profession of each of us, who were sent by the Propaganda. Moreover, the mandarins of the Board questioned me about my friends, and recommended me to remove to one of the houses of the French or Portuguese. To this I replied, that such a scheme could produce no good result, because, belonging to different Orders and nations, we could not all adopt one and the same mode of life, and that, having houses of our own, it was neither just nor decent that we should go and reside with others, putting them and ourselves to the greatest inconvenience. I supported my argument by the conduct of these same French and Portuguese Jesuits, who had obstinately resisted all the endeavours of the late Emperor Kang-hy to unite them in one society. I further stated, that our object in coming to Peking was to enter into the Emperor's service, and that while we were so occupied, it could not much matter to his Majesty whether we resided in our own houses or in those of others, but that the loss of our comfort and convenience was of great importance to us. At that time, I continued, three of us, namely, Father Angelo, Scipel, and myself, were selected by his Majesty for his immediate service; and being without intermission engaged at the palace, we had taken a small house in Peking, that we might

better attend to his Majesty's orders. The other five resided near the Emperor's palace of Hae-tien, in a house purchased by permission; and when any one of them should have work to execute for the Emperor, he would be gladly received into my house, or another which Don Pedrini was preparing. These and other arguments of the same nature I found it necessary to employ before the mandarins of the Board, who were not acting by command, and had no interest in the business. They were satisfied with my reasons, and promised to submit them to the Governor; and as the subject was never revived, I suppose they must have met with his approbation.

On the 24th of June, 1723, the mother of the reigning Emperor Young-Chin died; and recollecting what had happened at the obsequies of the Emperor Kang-hy, I resolved rather to die than again to be implicated in such abominations. Accordingly I wrote to our five companions who were at Hae-tien, warning them against any participation in the impending ceremonies, unless in the manner that we had followed the funeral of Kang-hy's mother; and entreated them to attend at the place where we had been on this latter occasion, instead of that at which we had met at Kang-hy's own death.

After sending the letter, I went to the Too-yoo-soo to procure mourning, which was distributed to all the Europeans at the expense of the state. The mandarins asked me in what part of the palace the Europeans had assembled for Kang-hy's obsequies, and for those of his mother; whether we had gone to the Kiw-scian, that is, the golden mountain; and what ceremonies we had performed upon these occasions. I related what has been described above, and concluded by saying that we were permitted to enter the Tsy-nin-koong, and to remain there some time clothed in mourning, and seated on the ground precisely as we had done on the death of Kang-hy's mother. The mandarins replied, that that would do. They however referred the whole matter to certain authorities, who decided that the Europeans should go to another place, the name of which has now escaped my memory. It was fortunate for us that matters took this turn; for if the mandarins had resolved to send us into the Loong-tan-men, in obedience to our instructions from Rome we had determined to refuse. This new trial which I so nar-

rowly escaped, was another reason for hastening my return to Europe.

Neither I nor the other Europeans knew where to make inquiries concerning the part of the palace where we were expected to meet, nor could we guess how we were to act. Unable to ascertain whether I could lawfully be present or not, I resolved not to enter the palace with the other missionaries during the funeral rites, but to show myself to the mandarins after the ceremony was completed. It so happened, however, that the other missionaries were not obliged to take part in the rites, having arrived after the libation of wine had been performed.

In the afternoon some of my companions returned to the palace, and I went straight to the Too-yoo-soo, where I remained till they came out again. I was afterwards informed that when they had arrived on the spot, they were required to do nothing but to stand apart in a rank, where they remained till the ceremony was over, without performing any prostrations.

We afterwards continued to wear mourning, but were not called upon to take part in any other ceremonies; for according to the will of the deceased Empress, the obsequies were not to be protracted beyond three days, in order that the Emperor might resume without delay the government of so vast an empire.

His Majesty had taken it into his head to have a fountain constructed which should never cease to play. We were accordingly asked by command, whether any of us were able to contrive it. A Frenchman answered to the effect that two of his countrymen had lately arrived who would undertake such a work. Father Angelo, through me as interpreter, replied without hesitation, that he felt equal to the task. The others declared themselves ignorant of such matters. Father Angelo had already begun a design to be submitted to the Emperor, when I was informed that the fountain required by the superstitious monarch owed its origin to the following circumstance. His Majesty had demanded of a certain Bonze, who was believed to be possessed of miraculous powers, how his dynasty could be rendered perpetual—and the Bonze had replied that this might be attained whenever a fountain should be constructed whose waters should never cease to flow upon the figure

of a dragon. Those who gave me this information, deeming it wrong to encourage such heathen superstition, had unanimously declared that they were unable to execute the work. I had inquired of the courtiers, who issued the order, what might be the object of the Emperor, but they replied that it was merely for his own amusement. Nevertheless, being well satisfied of his superstitious intention, I deemed it my duty to prevent Father Angelo from undertaking the work, especially as by means of polite excuses and suitable representations he could avoid it without giving offence. Accordingly I communicated my opinion to Father Angelo, and found much difficulty in inducing him to adopt it.

Soon after this dangerous and delicate business had been so well arranged, that even in the Palace the fountain was no longer mentioned, the Disposer of all things exposed me to further trials. The Emperor commanded that Father Angelo should be required to state whether he was able to assist in the manufacture of bells in bronze, of which he sent him the models. From the peculiar shape of these bells, and from the inscriptions upon them, it appeared they were destined for the worship and temples of idols; and some courtiers moreover told me that the Emperor intended to place them, together with a mass of bows and arrows, in the belly of an enormous idol which he had erected in a spacious temple situated near the palace. I was, therefore, satisfied that Father Angelo could not undertake such a work without sharing in the sin of idolatry; and before the answer was returned, I cautioned him not to betray by his gestures that he understood such things. Father Angelo listened to what I had to say, but as he was well informed in mechanics, so was he deficient in theology and philosophy, and accordingly opposed my representations upon the subject, desiring me to state that he understood what was required, and was ready to take part in it. The courtiers perceiving that he was determined to please the Emperor, and that I objected, severely reprimanded me for thus placing myself in opposition to his Majesty's will and pleasure.

Finding that I was now entirely exposed, I freely declared that although Father Angelo might be capable of such a work, he could not undertake it, because our religion prohibited any

participation in the manufacture of things intended for the service of idols. Hereupon they threatened to inform the Emperor of my conduct: I replied, that being well acquainted with the manners of the court, I knew what must then be my fate, and was prepared to die rather than do that which was most strictly forbidden by my religion. By this they perceived that I had fully decided upon my line of conduct; and, being well disposed towards me, they agreed to report to his Majesty that Father Angelo was unacquainted with such work. The latter, finding himself disappointed, became greatly incensed, saying that I had deprived him of the honour of being employed in the service of his Majesty, and immediately went away to our residence at Haetien, declaring that he would no longer live in the same house with me, and that for the future he would have some other interpreter.

Having again found myself in the critical alternative of either consenting to further the interests of idolatry or causing much prejudice to the mission, I determined upon returning to Naples; and this resolution was confirmed by a circumstance which happened a few days afterwards. In order to excite the Chinese Christians to a more frequent fulfilment of their devotional duties, I had obtained the privilege of consecrating small Agnuses for the acquisition of indulgences; and on Friday mornings I performed a service in my chapel, during which I distributed Agnuses to those who attended. Having been informed of this, some of my opponents said, in the presence of several Christians, that I had no authority to consecrate Agnuses, and that I imposed upon the credulity of my congregation. My friends resented this attack upon my character, and a bitter dispute ensued, in consequence of which the contending parties came to my house to ascertain the truth. I immediately produced the diploma granting me the privilege, and satisfied them all.

This fresh incident convinced me still more that my efforts were maliciously counteracted by my enemies, and scarcely produced anything but scandal and discord. Considering, therefore, how little I could effect in China for the propagation of Christianity, and how repeatedly I was exposed to the danger either of participating in idolatrous practices or of perishing, in obedience to the Holy word,—“But when they persecute you in

this city, flee ye into another," I resolved to return to Naples; not, however, with the intention of living in idleness, but with a view of devoting all my time and energies to the promotion of the great object of the Christian mission.

The project of quitting the post assigned to me by my superiors had previously occurred to my mind, as stated above, and had often been the subject of my prayers; nevertheless it was a step of so serious a nature, that I dared not execute it on my sole responsibility. Now, however, I placed myself under the patronage of the holy apostle Saint Matthew, shut myself up, and went through a course of religious exercises. After several days of constant meditation and prayer, I felt so strengthened in my purpose, that I finally resolved to depart.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Permission to quit China—Farewell Presents—Departure from Peking—Cheap Travelling—Variations of Climate—Arrival at Canton—Pecuniary Difficulties—Supernatural Agency—Providential Occurrence.

No European had ever asked leave to quit the Emperor's service, unless he happened to be disabled by some constitutional complaint. During Kang-hy's reign it would have been impossible for me, who was in perfect health, to obtain such a permission; nor did it appear easy to procure it now from Young Chin. Yet as he was still sorrowing for his father's death, and great indulgence is generally shown in China to persons recently bereft of their parents, I hoped to succeed by alleging a similar loss. Accordingly, I applied to the Emperor's sixteenth brother, who expressed himself well inclined in my favour, and advised me to petition the Too-yoo-soo. This Board referred me to his Majesty's thirteenth brother, who had the charge of the collection of clocks and watches, and was consequently my immediate superior. The prince kept me a long time in suspense, with a profusion of gracious smiles and words; sometimes he even turned aside as he passed, and pretended not to see me whilst I waited for him on my knees. At length I discovered that, in spite of all his promises, he was opposed to my departure; and knowing the magic power of gifts in China, I took all the European curiosities I still had in my possession, and sent them to his residence. They were all accepted, which was a good omen; and soon after the joyful announcement was sent me that the Emperor, in consideration of the services I had rendered to his father, had been pleased to grant my petition, ordering moreover that I should receive some valuable farewell gifts of silk and porcelain.

On the 13th of November the prince made me go with him to the imperial wardrobe, and there bade me choose any article that I liked. In obedience to his command, I fixed upon four

porcelain vases and as many pieces of silk ; whereupon a contest ensued, the prince insisting that I should take more, and I protesting that I had enough, nor was he satisfied until I had accepted two hundred pieces of porcelain. After this I performed the usual prostrations to return thanks, and quitted the Palace for ever. On bidding me farewell, the prince particularly advised me to choose a lucky day for my departure, a choice which these heathens always make by means of superstitious ceremonies ; and on my answering, to the great astonishment of the bystanders, that all days were alike, he observed to them, " You need not wonder at this, for the Europeans do not believe that there are some days more propitious than others."

As the late Emperor Kang-hy had only seven years before strictly forbidden that any one of his subjects should be allowed to go out of China, I now saw no possibility of taking my pupils away with me, and consequently resolved to leave them at Canton under the care of a friend. Fortunately, however, the Emperor's sixteenth brother, on hearing of my approaching departure, sent me a rich present of silk stuffs, two saddle-horses, and various articles of Chinese manufacture ; and having submitted, when I went to thank him, that the exportation of horses was prohibited, and that I wanted a special permission for the purpose, he said, " Write a memorial, and state the number of horses, men, and arms you wish to export, and it shall be granted." In this spontaneous offer of such a permission, I could not fail to perceive the agency of the Almighty, for the purpose of enabling me to take my pupils to Europe.

After surmounting various obstacles, which need not be detailed, on the 15th of November, 1723, I at last left that Babylon, Peking, with my four pupils and their Chinese master, myself in one litter, the two youngest boys in another, the other three and two servants on horseback. The wind blew so furiously, that it upset our litters several times, and it was intensely cold. It seemed as if the Evil one, foreseeing the great good which at some future time would arise from my little flock of Chinese, had mustered all his forces to drive us back to that capital of his dominions.

At the end of thirty-five days we arrived at Nan-chang-foo, without rain, snow, or any other inconvenience, so that with the

exception of the first day of my starting from Peking, the remainder of my journey was safe and fortunate. For the two litters and four horses, one of the servants having ridden one of mine, I paid sixty-one taels, which is equivalent to about eighteen pounds. In the province of Peking, where provisions are much dearer than in others, I generally paid for our dinner six or seven fens, and the same for our supper and lodgings, which is less than sixpence per day; we however carried our own beds, for the inns in China do not supply them. As we advanced southward the prices diminished, till the whole daily expense amounted to not more than five fens a head. The dinner consisted of a vegetable soup, two different sorts of meat, and as much rice as we could eat; wine and fruit, not being included in the fare, were paid extra.

We then hired a boat, which for less than two pounds took us to Nan-gan-foo, in eleven days. On arriving at the Meiling Pass we were welcomed by a wonderful sight. When we left Peking, owing to the excessive cold, no verdure of any kind was to be perceived. In about a week we began to see a few withered leaves still clinging to the trees, and now on reaching the summit of the mountain we found the trees clothed with luxuriant foliage. A few days after, we came to a country where the harvest was at its height; and on my arrival at Canton, on the 10th of January, we found a perfect spring, so that during a journey of fifty-six days we went through the four seasons of the year, but in an inverted order, because we were travelling from north to south.

At Canton I rejoiced to find that there was an English vessel still lying in the harbour, owing to a Custom-house officer having seized a valuable clock, which he would neither restore nor pay for. I lost no time in endeavouring to secure a passage to Europe; but I was told by several friends that it was not to be had for any sum of money, and that I must give up the idea of returning that year. Stimulated by an ardent desire to lay the foundation of my college, I made further inquiries for myself and four only of the Chinese, intending to leave Lucio, who was very weak in body and mind, and rather badly disposed. Thanks to a combination of favourable circumstances, I succeeded in obtaining the places I wanted for about one hundred

and fifty pounds sterling. This important point being thus settled, it was now necessary to pay the stipulated sum, and I had no small difficulty in finding it.

I had a credit on the agent of the Propaganda for about three hundred and fifty pounds, which I had lent him on various occasions to supply the wants of the missionaries in China; and although he had a sufficient sum at his command, he would not consent to pay me, alleging that the general exigencies of the service must take precedence of individual cases. In vain did I represent that the money I was thus claiming had not been earned, but lent, and that unless he returned a part at least, I should find myself obliged to remain at Canton with my pupils; but he was not to be shaken in his resolution. My distress may easily be conceived. But whilst my colleague thus faithlessly rewarded me for my zeal, Divine Providence again came to my assistance. A good Christian from Siam, being apprised of my difficulties, brought me about one hundred and twenty pounds quite unexpectedly, which he offered to lend me without any security or interest, on the sole condition that I should request the agent to repay them when convenient. Upon this I immediately went to pay the captain, and thus everything was settled for my own passage and that of four Chinese.

The news of the honours that had been conferred upon me in Peking previous to my departure, had reached Canton by means of the Gazette, and consequently I was extremely well received by all the authorities of the province, especially the president of the Customs. Owing to the same circumstance, I was also treated with great consideration by the English, not only during my sojourn in Canton, but also at sea and on my arrival in London.

So many and various were the things which engrossed my attention, that on the following morning when I went to celebrate mass I was unusually agitated. I had scarcely begun, "In nomine Patris et Filii," when methought I distinctly heard these words,—“Have I given him to thee, that thou shouldst forsake him? Do thy best to take him; and if thou failest, then leave him.” I instantly understood that they related to Lucio, though he was not named. Twenty-one years have now elapsed, but this mysterious occurrence remains clearly impressed on my

memory. Thus convinced of my error in not having exerted myself to procure a passage for Lucio, I resolved to try my utmost endeavours to that effect. After mass, however, I was again absorbed in multifarious duties, and my resolution, as well as the extraordinary words I had heard, were entirely forgotten.

The next day when I said mass, and was again reciting that part of the service already mentioned, I heard the same voice repeating the words, "Have I given him to thee," &c., and this time I was deeply struck with awe. I must here mention, that I never allowed myself to be disturbed or deceived by such occurrences as this, always confiding in a better guide, and employing the aids of reason; but these words now acted upon me so powerfully, that on the same day I went to the captain to see upon what conditions he might be induced to take Lucio. I met him in the street, and had scarcely time to say that I wished to ask a favour of him, when the chief supercargo came up and informed me that he stood in need of my assistance. He then related to me the circumstance mentioned above, of a clock valued at four hundred pounds, and belonging to the Company, which the president of the Customs had seized, and would neither restore nor pay for. The supercargo was aware that the president had treated me with the most marked respect, and accordingly concluded that I might persuade him either to return the clock or pay its value. I satisfied the supercargo by my answer, that I was quite ready to serve him, and if necessary would delay my embarkation, which was fixed for the following day. He returned me many thanks, and directed the captain to convey my luggage on board immediately, together with my Chinese passengers, and to take the same care of all my things as if they were the property of the Company; and upon this he went away. I was now left with the captain, and by means of the interpreter begged of him to take Lucio, assuring him that he should be fully satisfied with respect to the expenses.

In answer to this, I expected nothing less than a decided refusal or some exorbitant demand; but the captain, who had been present while the supercargo requested my assistance, immediately replied, that I was welcome to bring Lucio, even though the expenses had not been mentioned. I thanked him for his

kindness, and afterwards took an opportunity of making him some return for it. When I got home, my friends were greatly surprised to hear what had happened.

I lost no time in dispatching a message to the mandarin of the Customs, advising him to restore the clock or pay its value. The answer to this message was an invitation to supper. I accordingly went, and when the business was mentioned, he said that it had been a mistake on the part of his steward, and ordered it to be returned. Great was the joy of the English, who in consequence of this treated me with great consideration during the whole voyage.

CHAPTER XXV.

Setting Sail for England—Chinese in Trouble—Staying a Storm—Again—Chinese Modesty—Mr. Edmund Godfrey—A Substitute for the Compass—Anonymous Liberality.

ON the 23rd of January, 1724, I at last embarked for London with the five Chinese, and a month after we crossed the Line. Up to this time the Chinese were permitted the use of the captain's cabin, and had they been allowed to continue in it, the voyage would have been most agreeable. But the powers of darkness were highly incensed that a vessel belonging to their own dominions should convey the first elements of an institution which was destined to prove so prejudicial to their interests. Accordingly they contrived to cover the hands and face of one of the Chinese with a saline humour, which increased to such a degree, that in a few days the poor youth became a most loathsome object. The surgeon, who was a German heretic, and a most determined enemy to our religion, declared that the complaint was leprosy, and that it might prove contagious. At the same time it also happened that Lucio U, who was about thirteen years of age, and rather weak in intellect, made himself obnoxious by dirtying the cabin, where he slept with his companions. The English lived, ate, and drank in this same place, and their ideas of cleanliness were greatly offended; and the captain determined to exclude the Chinese from his cabin.

The ship being very heavily laden, there remained no other place where my pupils could be sheltered from the weather; and when their clothes got wet, they were obliged to wear them till the sun or the natural heat of their bodies had dried them. It was fortunate that we had lost sight of the Chinese coast before these events took place; for the English swore that they would otherwise have put them all on shore again. I need not say to how many hardships the poor Chinese were exposed during.

voyage of more than four months. I was in continual expectation of seeing them all perish; and this painful anxiety was not a little aggravated by the brutal conduct of the surgeon. This malignant heretic, upon seeing the boy above mentioned in so deplorable a condition, seriously told me several times that he had thoughts of giving him a powerful dose that would carry him off, and I had no small difficulty in dissuading him from so villainous an action. When he afterwards saw them all suffering from wet, he turned to me and said, "Signor Ripa, we must throw them overboard one after the other, for it is impossible to keep them alive till the end of the journey."

The patience with which these five Chinese underwent all their hardships was almost incredible. Not one of them betrayed the least angry feeling, or expressed any regret at having undertaken the voyage. They were always cheerful and contented; but I was especially edified by their master. He was a man about thirty years old, who had left behind him a mother and a wife, with four children; I had baptized him only a few months before I had left Peking, and though from so recent a convert no one could have expected much, yet when I exhorted him to be patient, he would with a smiling countenance beg me not to give myself any trouble about the matter, as it did not trouble him, and he knew that all this happened *by the will of God*.

On the night of the 10th of April we had a tremendous storm. From the roaring of the sea and the winds, it seemed as though the vessel would be dashed into a thousand pieces, at every moment. This was the first time in my life that I had seen a sea-storm in all its terrific fury. Thanks to Heaven it did not last more than an hour; after this the wind abated, and was succeeded by a heavy rain, which continued to fall without intermission, till the whole crew was reduced to the greatest distress. Not only were their clothes completely soaked, but the water penetrated their chests and the cabins of the officers, and injured a part of the cargo. I was more dead than alive, being afflicted as usual with the sea-sickness, and feeling deeply for the forlorn situation of my poor Chinese, who were drenched with rain and benumbed with cold. Having desired them to join with me, we prayed to God for some time, and in the fulness of my faith I

threw an Agnus of his Holiness Innocent XI. into the raging sea, and it was truly wonderful how the furious winds became gentle zephyrs, the sea calm and quiet, and the air so mild that we seemed to be in the midst of the most delightful spring. One of the heretical pilots, who understood the Portuguese language, told me, that when he and the other sailors, who were well acquainted with these seas, beheld such an extraordinary change in the weather as had never been read or heard of, they one and all exclaimed that the course of nature had changed, or else that a miracle had been wrought, and he repeated several times that he had witnessed a miracle which was the work of God. This, from the mouth of a heretic, confirmed me in my belief that so much grace had been vouchsafed for the preservation of the Chinese, who had prayed to that effect, through the intercession of our Holy Father.

On the 7th of May the sky darkened, and the wind set in from the north-west, threatening a terrible storm. Being joined by the Chinese, we again had recourse to our usual remedy, namely, prayer; and we again threw into the sea an Agnus of Innocent XI. The tempest died away, but the wind mixed with rain continued to blow with great violence, the ship remaining stationary with her rudder tied up. It is usual for the wind to continue during thirty or forty days; and the ship's water being only sufficient for thirty days, it appeared dangerous to continue in this position till the wind changed. A council was therefore held among the officers, who decided upon staying one week longer where we then were, and if the wind should not become favourable, to sail back again and winter in the island of Mascaregna. It was really a gloomy sight to see the officers, those particularly who had supported this ill-judged resolution, sitting pale and mute in my cabin, and from time to time heaving deep sighs. What filled them with dismay was the knowledge that at that time a large pirate ship was cruising on the coasts of that island, bearing a black flag with a death's head on it, intimating that no quarter was given. Under these unhappy circumstances, I informed the Chinese that we must again implore the intervention of God. When we had done so, not only did the wind subside, but on the following morning it became so favourable that we resumed our course.

On our arrival at the Cape of Good Hope I was desirous, for the sake of rest as well as economy, not to lodge in the same house with the captain and the other English gentlemen, but they would not allow me on any account. The Chinese, whom I had taken ashore for the purpose of refreshing them from their sufferings, soon begged me to return aboard, not being able to endure the behaviour of the English. They were indeed teased in every way. I recollect that once having heard a confusion of voices, among which I could distinguish that of John In, I went up to see what it might be. Upon entering the room, where many English and Dutchmen were assembled, I found that one of them, for the amusement of the company, had been pushing the landlord's daughter against the youth, who, weeping and trembling with dread from such temptation, had at last crept under the bed.

Upon my arrival they ceased tormenting the poor lad, but he still continued weeping and trembling, and I had much trouble in persuading him to remain on shore for a short time with the others. He earnestly entreated that I would instantly return with him to the ship, saying that such gross and dissolute manners were too much for his feelings.

As I was well aware that before our arrival in Naples I should have to incur great expenses, having some good Chinese clothes, I was determined to wear them while passing through the countries of the heretics. On board ship I always wore my Chinese dress, and being once asked what sort of habiliments I intended to put on when I arrived in London, where I must appear before the Company, and perhaps at Court? I replied that, having no other layman's dress, I must of necessity continue to wear my Chinese costume. Upon this the supercargo, a heretic, named Edmund Godfrey, without my knowledge, had a complete suit made for me, and insisted on my accepting it as a present. The buttons alone had cost him about two pounds at the Cape of Good Hope.

When we reached the latitude of St. Helena, where all the East India Company's ships had strict orders to touch, we sailed for several days without being able to discover the island. As the season was far advanced, the officers at last resolved that unless it could be found within twenty-four hours, we must sail

direct for England ; but they entertained great fears of incurring the displeasure of their employers. Upon this I immediately told the Chinese that at sunrise on the following day, which was that of St. Anthony of Padua, I expected them to join me in prayer in order to implore the patronage of this great saint. They did so ; and our fervent supplications were not even ended, when, to the great joy of all on board, the much-desired coast appeared in sight.

During a sojourn of six days at St. Helena, there being no inns in the island, we lived in the house of one of the officers, together with the captain and the supercargoes, where we had excellent fare and accommodation. At the end of our stay I expected to have a good sum to pay ; but on inquiring of our host what I owed him for myself and the Chinese, to my great surprise he answered, that the account had been settled ; and however I might press him to tell me the name of our secret benefactor, he never would comply with my request. How mortified I felt at receiving this anonymous charity it is not difficult to conceive ; but no one can imagine the consolation I experienced on seeing that Divine Providence should so mercifully attend to our wants as to inspire a heretic to pay a sum for us which could not have amounted to less than thirty pounds. Having reasons to suspect that this was an act of Mr. Edmund Godfrey's, I called upon him for the purpose of returning thanks, but he would not even allow me to mention the subject.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Casting Anchor at Deal—Importunity of Boatmen—Rapacity of Custom-house Officers—National Monuments—Liberality of King George I.—Of the East India Company's Directors—Of Mr. Edmund Godfrey—Sailing for Leghorn.

ON the 5th of September we at length had the happiness of perceiving the coast of England, and on the 7th we cast anchor at Deal. With a favourable wind the voyage from that place to London can be performed in three days, but owing to the uncertainty of the weather it generally takes a fortnight. On the other hand, by landing at Deal, and proceeding by the mail, which runs daily, one reaches London in less than forty hours, and the fare is only twenty-six shillings. Upon this consideration I resolved to quit the ship, in order to go and make such arrangements with the Directors of the East India Company as might prevent our property from being seized and sold by auction, according to their regulations.

Meanwhile the custom-house officers came on board to watch that nothing was disembarked; and I was then induced to alter my plan, agreeing to pay four pounds sterling to the boatmen who had brought them, on the condition that they should convey us to London within two days. As however they did not get ready by the time they had fixed for departure, I determined to start by the mail. On this occasion I met with an adventure which excited the merriment of the spectators. The boat in which I was conveyed ashore could not come up close to the beach, owing to the shallowness of the water, and one of the sailors undertook to carry me on his back. The distance he had to go was about twenty yards, but when scarcely half-way he began to totter, and call to his friends for assistance; and before they arrived he dropped me into the water up to my knees.

No sooner had we landed than we were annoyed by the

sailors with whom we had promised to proceed. They pretended that we should either keep our engagement or indemnify them, and threatened to prosecute us. So loud were their vociferations, that in a few moments a great crowd gathered around us. Unable to speak English, or even to understand what they said, to our great confusion we were obliged to suffer their importunity till very late in the evening, when, thanks to Heaven, there came a gentleman, who, taking compassion on us, reproved them bitterly and sent them to bed.

Whilst thus molested by these sailors, we were summoned to take our luggage to the custom-house that it might be examined. In the mean time the man who had brought us this order began to watch us very attentively lest we should smuggle any thing out of our bag. The fellow spoke with such kindness and benevolence as to make us suppose that he was a Catholic in his heart. Our luggage consisted of a change of clothes, a writing-case, in which were several packets of letters, the geographical map of China, which I myself had engraved, and sundry other things of very little value. All this was searched with a rigour which can scarcely be conceived; but as there was no prohibited article to extort a fee, they seized my Chinese dress, on pretence that it was silk from China. They then laid hold of my geographical map, of which I recommended them to take great care, saying that the King, to whom I intended to present it, would send for it soon. Not yet satisfied with this, they also wished to intercept my letters, alleging that they must be sent through the post-office. Upon this I locked my desk, and gave it to them, saying that I would send for it when I arrived in London; but they would not take charge of it, and insisted on my sending the letters by post. As I would not consent to this, they kept us in custody, whilst the officer above-mentioned, pretending to advise me as a friend, recommended me to put an end to the difference by making a sacrifice of four pounds, as else we should never get out of the custom-house. This dispute was carried on till midnight, when another officer came out of an inner room, and, blaming both parties, ordered them to be satisfied with half-a-crown, which I immediately paid.

At Deal we entered into an agreement with the post-master, to pay twenty-seven shillings and sixpence each, to be paid

half there and half in London. We set out at noon, together with a colonel and the wife of a merchant, the women of England being indulged with such freedom owing to the entire absence of restraint which prevails in their island.

Great, doubtless, were the favours which Divine Providence granted us throughout our voyage from Peking to London, yet those we received during our stay in England were still greater. To describe them minutely would take volumes; suffice it to say, that these Protestants, among whom we were apprehensive of losing the property we brought from China, showered favours of every kind upon us.

It is customary in the vast city of London to publish, twice a-week, all remarkable things which happen within its limits: accordingly, soon after we landed, the public were informed that Father Ripa had brought five boys from China, for the purpose of educating them at Naples, and sending them back to preach the Holy Gospel in their native country. This was then mentioned before the King of England, George I., one day when conversing with several great lords of his court and foreigners of distinction. His Majesty expressed a wish to see us; and the Sardinian ambassador, thinking that I was a Piedmontese, offered to present us.

We had been but a few days in London, when, one evening, on returning to our inn, I was informed that the ambassador had been to visit me. Being much surprised at this unexpected honour, I did not fail to pay my respects to him; on which occasion he signified to me that the King desired to see us. Accordingly, a few days after, we all six repaired to the palace, where his Majesty, in the presence of the royal family and the lords of his court, conversed with us for about three hours, and appeared so much interested that a certain great Protestant bishop who was present complained to some of the nobility. At length the King, becoming fatigued with the long audience, commanded that the Chinese should dine at the table which was laid daily for the lords of his court, and that I should dine with the Duchess of Arlington, his relation. This was so ordered by his Majesty because that lady had begged permission to entertain us all. It pleased the King to honour us still further in various ways which it is not necessary for me here to describe; but I will

not omit to state that, after all the property which we brought from China had been examined by the proper officers of the customs, it was transferred, by his Majesty's order, and free of all expense, to the ship that was to carry us to Italy.

With respect to certain other duties payable to the East India Company, the directors not only remitted them, but invited me to their public meeting, and showed themselves ready to assist me in any way. They even asked me to dine with them, and sent some soldiers to escort our goods to the ship. Thus all our property left England without incurring any expense or suffering the least damage. Had we been obliged to pay the duty, it would have amounted to more than one hundred pounds.

At the last audience of the King, which was in the presence of the Duchess of Arlington, and lasted from nine o'clock in the evening until midnight, his Majesty made me accept a present of fifty pounds sterling.

Upon my return to London, after sixteen years' absence, I found it much improved; numbers of new buildings had been erected, and the old ones generally repaired. The church of St. Paul's, raised by these heretics to rival the cathedral of St. Peter's at Rome, was now finished; and many Englishmen, who had never been at Rome, were persuaded that it had no equal in the world. It must, indeed, be admitted that, externally, it displays a fine style, and is altogether of superb magnificence; but, within, the proportions are worse than those of any other church that I remember to have seen. The body of the building is long and narrow, with a very lofty dome, painted in chiar-oscuro, and the whole is encrusted with *stucco*, without any marble embellishments. At a public audience, which the King gave in the presence of many of the nobility and ambassadors, he asked me which of the two churches I considered the finest building, St. Peter's or St. Paul's of London? I answered frankly, that, excepting the grand colonnade in front of St. Peter's, the exterior of St. Paul's was certainly finer than that of the other church; but that the interior of St. Paul's could bear no comparison with that of St. Peter's, which was infinitely superior to it in architecture, as well as in the statues and pictures with which it was enriched: whereas St. Paul's had neither statues nor pictures, and was besides constructed in very

bad proportions. Upon this the King, who had resided in Rome for some time, turned to some lords of his court, and supposing that I did not understand, said in French, "This is exactly the opinion of all foreigners upon the subject."

After having shown this newly-erected church to the Chinese, I took them to see the Royal Hospital for Seamen. This edifice is indeed well worth seeing, for its great extent, the excellence of its architecture, and the pictures in the interior, which Sir James Tornel [Thornhill] was then painting. The Royal Palace has nothing splendid in its appearance; but, if one may judge from some parts of it which are still extant, it must have been magnificent—for, having been partly consumed by fire in times past, it has never been completely restored. We went to see a church which, though built in the Gothic style, is yet one of the most remarkable in London, both for its architecture and the vast number of monuments it contains. We also went to see another church, at Windsor, which is equally admired. But, as whatever is worthy of note in this capital has been described by writers far better qualified for the task, I refer the reader to them, deeming this short notice sufficient for my present purpose.

On the 5th of October we set sail from London for Leghorn, where we arrived safely on the 1st of November. Mr. Edmund, the gentleman whom I have had occasion to mention several times, had requested me to take charge of a letter for a certain merchant, without giving me any intimation of its contents: having now delivered it, I found, to my great astonishment, that it contained a letter of credit to be filled up for any sum of money that I might choose to demand. I was greatly surprised to find so much kindness and charity in persons who had been brought up in open hostility to our holy faith. However, as I was not in need of more money, having still the sum that the King of England had given me, I deemed it proper to decline this favour. But as Mr. Edmund had so strongly recommended me, the merchant above mentioned sent me a cask of wine and a case of sweetmeats for our use during the voyage to Naples.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Arrival at Naples—St. January's Blood—Permission to establish the Chinese College—Reception of two Chinese Students.

UPON my arrival at Naples I received the intelligence that the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda were displeased at my having quitted my post without their permission; and objected to keeping the five Chinese, saying that their finances could not even cover their present expenses. I had not proceeded direct from Leghorn to Rome, because I knew that they were desirous of having some young Chinese in their own College, and was afraid they might compel me to leave them mine. I was therefore glad to hear that I had no occasion to fear any such occurrence; and having been summoned into the presence of the Pope, Benedict XIII., I submitted to him the plan of the religious community which I had in contemplation. On hearing that I undertook to find the necessary funds without the assistance of the Propaganda, his Holiness immediately gave his approbation, and referred my petition to the proper channels, that it might go through the usual forms. But as I proposed, for various sufficient reasons, to establish my institution at Naples, and not in Rome, the president of the Sacred Congregation and several other cardinals strongly objected to this, on the ground that I must not be permitted "to raise one altar against another." After a great many negotiations, however, I was allowed to begin at Naples, on the understanding that, in order not to commit the Holy See, the formal approbation should be withheld until my intended establishment had been set up on a proper footing. His Holiness directed the Secretary of State to recommend me to the Archbishop of Naples, as well as to the government, and promised a contribution of a thousand pounds as soon as his finances should permit.

In consequence of my unusual exertions of mind and body during the three months that I was detained in Rome, my health

had suffered so much that, on my return to Naples, I was in a constant state of uneasiness and dejection. I now despaired of being able to find the assistance I wanted for the execution of my project, and began to regret that I had not accepted the accommodation that had been offered me by the Propaganda for my pupils and myself. Having ever been accustomed to see me in cheerful spirits, the Chinese were much disturbed at my present depression. One day they entered my room and complained of my supposed intention to abandon them, after they had undergone so many sacrifices in order to follow me. I reassured them as well as I could; and, to confirm them more and more in the faith, I took the earliest opportunity of accompanying them to worship the blood of St. January. The saint, who probably was much gratified at receiving the homage of persons who had come from so great a distance to receive holy orders, and, on returning to their idolatrous country, to shed their blood in the cause of Christ, as he himself had done, was pleased to console them in a very special manner. On reaching the Archiepiscopal Treasury, where the miraculous blood is preserved in a state of solidity, we were introduced by our friends into the presbytery, where we knelt before the holy altar. After a little time spent in prayer, the chaplain of the Treasury took the blood in his hands, and, to our infinite satisfaction, allowed us to view, admire, and kiss it. He even permitted us to take the little phials in our own hands and to turn them about as we liked, which we did to our extreme spiritual comfort. On a sudden, while one of the Chinese held the phials in his hands, and we were looking at the blood, still solid in the upper part of the largest, it began to melt at the bottom, and continued so doing until the whole of it became liquid, when the chaplain began to chant the *Te Deum*. As the Chinese were still in their national dress, many of the crowd, who had assembled to await the miracle, mistook them for Turks, and immediately circulated the report throughout Naples that some young Mahomedans, on seeing such a prodigy, had embraced Christianity. This event edified my pupils so much, that a few days afterwards, when I proposed to show them some other sight, one of them declined going, saying that, after having been present at such a miracle, he did not care to see anything else.

My application for a licence to establish our community at Naples was presented by the Nuncio to the Viceroy, Cardinal Althan, upon the special recommendation of the Pope. It was granted seven months afterwards, on the condition that none should be admitted into the institution but native Chinese or others who would take an oath to go as missionaries to China ; and that the right of presentation should belong to the sovereign. As these restrictions were incompatible with my plan, and as, moreover, the Court of Rome objected to this assumption of the patronage, I resolved to repair to Vienna, in the hope of obtaining better conditions from the Emperor Charles VI. I was honoured with the kindest reception, both by him and the Empress. Not only did he grant the exemption that I implored, but moreover promised the assignment of eight hundred ducats a year for my intended foundation, and a gratuitous passage in the ships of the Ostend Company for all our students.

Unfortunately whilst I was so successful at Vienna fresh obstacles were raised at Rome, where the Sacred Congregation now claimed the right of examining the professors of the intended institute before they were appointed. To this the Neapolitan Government would not submit, and thus three years more were wasted in troublesome negotiations. The three powers at length came to an understanding, and in April, 1732, after seven long years of anxiety and vexation, my efforts were crowned with the happiest success. It was agreed that the new institution should consist, as I had proposed, of a College and a Congregation.

The College to consist of young Chinese and Indians, to be qualified for the missionary profession at the expense of the foundation.

The Congregation to be composed of ecclesiastics, willing to impart the necessary instruction to the collegians without any pecuniary remuneration.

The collegians to make these five vows:—1st. To live in poverty ; 2nd. To obey their superiors ; 3rd. To enter holy orders ; 4th. To join the missions in the East, according to the disposition of the Propaganda ; 5th. To serve for life the Roman Catholic Church, without ever entering any other community.

The members of the congregation to make no vow ; but, besides attending to the education of the collegians, to live in

community, and to perform the duties of the church belonging to the institution.

Whilst I was employing every means to effect this important arrangement, a great deal of my attention and time was also required to surmount the obstacles which official chicanery continually raised against my receiving the sums granted by the Pope and the Emperor. The purchase of a house of convenient size and situation was also a task replete with difficulties; nor were these surmounted until I, together with the five Chinese, offered up a special form of prayer to the Holy Virgin, during nine consecutive days. All my troubles were however amply rewarded on the 25th of July of the same year, when the opening of our congregation and college took place with all the solemnities and rejoicings suitable for the celebration of the auspicious event.

Some time after the Sacred Congregation sent me two new pupils. In order that the same forms may be observed on all similar occasions, I will describe the ceremony of their reception.

On entering our hall they were embraced and welcomed by all our community; I then led them into the church, and kneeling before the high altar, with one of them on each side, I thanked the Lord for their safe arrival, and recommended them to the Almighty, offering myself up for the service of them all, and imploring his Divine Majesty to assist me in the fulfilment of my duties. We next went round to the other altars, praying before each in succession. After this they were conducted to my room, where I washed and kissed their feet, my first consultor holding the basin, and the second the towels. Finally their name, surname, country, and age, were entered on the register.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Examination of two Chinese Students—Their Departure for China—Death of John In—Flight of Lucio U.—His Arrest and Trial—His Evasion and Recapture—Mysterious End.

EARLY in the year 1733 I informed the secretary of the Propaganda that my two pupils, Baptist Ku and John In, would soon terminate their studies, and that I consequently begged that due arrangements should be made for their examination ; but for several months no orders were issued. It so happened, that at last the news of the expulsion of the European missionaries from China came to quicken the zeal of the Congregation. Accordingly, I was now desired to accompany them to Rome. When the examination was over, to the utmost satisfaction of the examiners, the Chinese took their oaths before the Sacred Congregation. On this occasion Cardinal Petra, turning to John In, said, he wished to make him a bishop, and the young priest replied he would rather be a cardinal. As his Eminence looked astonished at this answer, of which he had not immediately understood the meaning, John In, taking hold of the cardinal's cloak, added, "When I say I would rather be a cardinal than a bishop, I do not mean with such garments as those of your Eminence, but with my own black ones dyed with my own blood, shed for the sake of Christ." This reply was much admired by all the bystanders, and indeed by all Rome, throughout which it soon spread.

After receiving the Pope's benediction, and several privileges which his Holiness was pleased to grant them, they returned with me to Naples. In order that their dress should present some allusion to the martyrdom to which they aspired, they were provided with cassocks bound with crimson, and they departed on their mission accompanied by our most ardent prayers.

This expedition excited deep interest throughout the country,

and the Neapolitan Gazette thus expressed the general satisfaction: "By the latest accounts from China we learn that the Emperor continues to increase in severity against our holy religion, and not content with having banished thirty-five European missionaries who had been exiled to Canton by his command, he has ordered the strictest search to be made after the very few remaining in Peking, who had concealed themselves. We are also informed that two of these have already been discovered. It is gratifying to know that at the very moment when this vineyard of the Lord is thus deprived of its spiritual labourers, two Chinese pupils of our new college, of the Sacred Family of Jesus, have embarked for China as Apostolic missionaries. Being Chinese, they will not so easily be discovered, and it is to be hoped that they will succeed in effecting a vast deal of good for the benefit of their native countrymen."

They arrived at Canton highly pleased with their voyage, and soon after they left it for the place of their destination. The letter, which gave a delightful account of their journey, was signed by them both. On opening a small note enclosed in the letter, I was thrown into the deepest affliction; it was written by John Ku alone, and bathed in his tears, and it announced the death of our most beloved John In, which happened on the 15th of October, 1735. This intelligence pierced my heart. I was afterwards informed that the death of our friend had been caused by fright at one of those immense fish which in the wide rivers of China occasionally spring up into the boats. He was seized with fever, which carried him off in five days, and he departed this life as a pious Christian, wholly absorbed in thought of the happiness hereafter.

During my long absence from Naples, caused by the protracted negotiations above described, my heart had often bled at the intelligence of the great irregularities with which some of the students were disgracing our rising community; but of all the miseries which for my sins I was doomed to undergo, none tortured my mind half so much as the following, which occurred some time after the opening of the college.

The Chinese priest, Lucio U, after committing many other transgressions, was now convicted of putting the lock of his room out of repair in order to prevent its being opened by his

superiors, and of pilfering nine shirts, five tunics, and six pair of shoes, from other rooms by means of false keys. This was culpable enough; but what was still worse, he spoke discreditably of our community, saying that we kept him starving and in rags, and that the moment he could get a passport he would run away. Having been apprised of his conduct, we ordered him to be locked up in a private room; but, a few hours after, he disappeared, and every search to find him proved useless. I was afterwards informed that he had taken refuge in a village in the diocese of Monte Casino, where he acted as curate, though he had only received orders on condition of his becoming a missionary. To prevent his continuing to lead a disorderly life, to the detriment of our college and of his own reputation, I wrote to the abbot of Monte Casino, to endeavour to secure, with the utmost secrecy, the person of his fugitive, and to force him to return to us, for which I promised to pay every expense that might be incurred. Soon after, having received intelligence that he had been taken into custody, I sent a member of our congregation to fetch him.

Before three months had elapsed Lucio had again effected his escape. He was seen in the church of the Trinità de Pellegrini, at Rome, by my own brother, who, when washing the pilgrims' feet, had to wash his also; but, as he pretended to be absent with my permission, and only for a short time, he excited no suspicion. Being provided with a pilgrim's passport, he actually spent the night in that church, but declined going to the Pope's table on the pretext that he was dressed in plain clothes. He was, however, stopped at Sinigaglia, with a forged certificate of priesthood upon his person, which he pretended to have received from the Archbishop of Naples. He then sent me a letter, in which, acknowledging his faults, he promised to make amends, and begged me to procure his release. I answered, that indeed he deserved no pity. But he had been with me from his infancy, during which time he had cost me an immense deal of trouble and expense; and, had I forsaken him, he would have been lost. Moreover, it was a matter of no small difficulty and expense to get these Chinese from such a distance. As the father of this new foundation, remembering the parable of the prodigal son, I determined to send for him, and to punish hi-

transgressions, employing at the same time the salutary means of spiritual exercises towards his amendment. Accordingly I despatched one of our brethren with a letter for the Vicar-General of Sinigaglia, directing him to forward it and await the answer in Rome, which I authorised him to open, in order to save him the trouble of going the whole journey in the event of the prisoner being dead.

In order to bring Lucio to a sense of repentance through fear, and at the same time to inspire him with courage, I also directed my messenger to send him the following letter in his name:—

“By the order of our Father Superior, I inform you that your letter is come to hand. What had been foretold to you so many times, both in public and in private, is now come to pass. Owing to your excessive pride you would never believe it; but you feel it now that ‘Dominus tetigit me.’ You ask for the testimonials of priestly orders to be saved from death, and, to comply with your request, they are sent to the Vicar; but they cannot save you from the dungeon or the galley, being the penalty due to your execrable forgery. You add that you are aware of having done wrong, and that you hope for pardon from God, as he forgives those who repent sincerely. But how can our Superior, who cannot search into men’s hearts, believe in the sincerity of your professions, after you have deceived him so repeatedly? Nevertheless, hoping that the danger in which you are, and the sufferings which you have undergone, may truly induce you to reform—in order that he may not be wanting on his part, to afford you all the assistance that a father can bestow on his children, until by death you are hurled into the abyss, he has not only used his interest with the Vicar to diminish the punishment you deserve, but has actually offered to supply your daily wants in this college, should his entreaties ever succeed in obtaining your liberation. But this is very difficult to obtain, as you well know you have transgressed five oaths and vows approved of by the Holy See and every year renewed by you in our church. If you intend to amend your conduct and submit to fulfil our regulations, do implore God to assist you in the dangerous situation in which you are now placed.”

Having received a favourable answer from the Vicar, Father Andrada proceeded to Sinigaglia, where the prisoner was intrusted to his care, with a copy of the sentence, in which he was strictly enjoined to return to the College, under pain of excommunication and suspension from divine service. Two days after their departure from Sinigaglia, they arrived at Loreto, where Lucio desired to confess. His request was complied with; no other person being present but the confessor, Lucio, and Father Andrada. Lucio confessed with great devotion and humility, to the great satisfaction of the confessor; but the Evil Spirit had taken possession of him, and whilst Father Andrada was confessing, he ran away from the church. The sentence sent me by the Vicar of Sinigaglia imported that Lucio had pleaded guilty to the forgery of testimonials of priesthood and the licence of the Archbishop of Naples, and of desertion and apostacy for the second time from the congregation; and had been condemned by the ecclesiastical court to twelve months' imprisonment in the Chinese college, with power to me, his Superior, to shorten the term of his imprisonment. Lucio's name was now struck out from the list of members of our community; but, having been informed that he was at Macerata, I requested the ecclesiastical court of this town to issue a warrant against him, promising to pay out of my own pocket for his bread allowance, in order to prevent any further scandal, and rescue him from perdition. A few weeks afterwards I was apprised of Lucio's imprisonment at Foligno, and I immediately laid the information before the Propaganda, in order that, *juris ordine servato*, they might proceed against him, and at least to sentence him to transportation as a convict to Civita-vecchia; especially as I had been assured that he was meditating on the means of escaping to Geneva. On this occasion I sent to the Propaganda a detailed history of the lamentable life of this incorrigible culprit. I was anxious that the Sacred Congregation should provide for his safe custody, that he might receive due punishment for his crimes, and be prevented from escaping to Geneva or China, which would have caused dreadful calamities; moreover, ending his days among Christians, he might still have saved his poor soul, redeemed with the blood of Christ.

The vicar of Foligno informed Father Andrada that he was under no apprehension about Lucio's custody, but he feared that the unwholesomeness of the prison might bring on an illness with him, and occasion an increase of expense, and that consequently to spare his sufferings he had hired a bed at a penny a-day, whereby his daily expense now amounted to fivepence. In answer to this letter Father Andrada intimated, that with respect to the state of the prison he should await the resolution of the Congregation; and as to the expense, he observed that Lucio having been struck out of the list of members of our community, I was only doing an act of charity towards him; that consequently he should receive nothing more than the Court allowed to the other prisoners, and if they were allowed a bed I would pay for it; but that otherwise I should not. Some time after, the vicar of Foligno informed me that the prosecution against Lucio was concluded, and that the documents had been transmitted to the Propaganda. To this he added, that both he and the bishop were anxiously waiting for the result of the decision of the Propaganda, and that, feeling for the poor man, who had already been two months in prison, the Court had allowed him a bed, as they considered it unbecoming for a priest to sleep on a plank. Lucio complained bitterly of his not being able to live on his scanty allowance, and begged for the addition of at least a penny more per day; but his application had not been granted.

At length I received a letter from the secretary of the Propaganda, informing me that his Holiness had issued orders for Lucio to be conveyed to Rome, where measures would be taken to prevent his running away for the future, and thus dispel any fear that he might ever return to China to the prejudice of the mission.

With this gloomy story terminates the Italian work of Father Ripa; but it is succeeded by a few pages from the Editor, purporting that the reverend Father died on the 22nd of November, 1745, and that several persons, who in different cases of need

have since implored his intercession, have had their prayers granted!

As the English reader may perhaps feel an interest in knowing something more respecting Father Ripa's institution, the translator has appended the following account from the German, for which he is indebted to a friend.

CONCLUSION.

A Visit to the Chinese College at Naples founded by Father Ripa.*

CLOSE to the Ponte della Sanita, to the north-west on a neighbouring declivity, stands the Chinese College; for this is the name given to a religious institution in immediate connexion with the Propaganda of Rome, which educates young Chinese as teachers and missionaries for their native land. A high wall surrounds this beautiful spot; every one, however, is at liberty to visit the church, and the priests belonging to the church perform public worship there.

We went into the capacious hall, and found some men rolling a huge barrel into the cellar: well, thought we, our friends the missionaries do not appear to content themselves with bread and three apples, like the monks in the Sanità. A servant pointed out to us in the Refectory the portraits of Matteo Ripa, the founder of the college, and of all the succeeding teachers of the institution, as well as of several young Chinese, whose names and the dates of whose existence were appended to the pictures. After awhile the rector appeared, a tall, oily Neapolitan, with mild manners—a magnificent head for a picture—who made

* Extracted from Dr. Karl August Mayer's 'Neapel und die Neapolitaner' (Naples and the Neapolitans).

many excuses for having kept us waiting so long. The conversation then turned on Matteo Ripa. He was an Italian and a missionary, who just about one hundred years ago preached Christianity in China, where he had been appointed Court painter. We heard the following anecdote touching the pictures:—As soon as the young Chinese are sufficiently instructed to understand their business tolerably, they return to China; and the portrait of each youth is then taken on his departure. Should one happen to die in Naples, he is painted either before or immediately after his death. Some of the faces from this reason have death strongly marked upon them. The rector showed us the inscription under one of these portraits, which stated that the Chinese therein represented had lived for years in the institution, and that he had thence travelled through all parts of China as a missionary; but on discovery of the nature of his employment, he had been seized and banished to Tartary, where he died. The rector next described to me the present condition of the resident Christians in China, as being wretched in the extreme, the Emperor persecuting them cruelly; he added, that he entertained great fears for certain of his young scholars, who had but lately left the institution to enter upon their labours in China.

The number of pupils at present amounts to eight, of whom six are Chinese, and the other two Greeks. The instruction is given in Latin; but the pupils have picked up Italian in their intercourse with the servants. The rector himself does not understand Chinese, and the new comers can only follow his lessons after they have learned some Latin from their fellow-countrymen.

We were then conducted into another room, and a few Chinese made their appearance, clad in long priest's robes, and attended by their tutor, who was only distinguished from them by wearing a crimson girdle. They greeted us in the most friendly manner, and plenty of time was given us to observe their ways, and to talk with them in Italian. The colour of their faces is yellow, but not disagreeably so, and their shining black hair lies straight and smooth over their low foreheads: their small, strange, half-closed eyes are jet black, and full of vivacity, and are placed, turning upwards, towards the temples—the well-

known peculiarity of the Tartar race. The form of the face is oval and flat, the nose flat and short, so that they have scarcely any profile. When they laugh, and this they do incessantly, owing to their childish good humour, it is with a grin which shows all their teeth. Their heavy, monotonous way of moving suits well with their round, short, and diminutive bodies : in this they contrast strangely with the Greeks and the Italian rector. One might almost lay these Chinese down and roll them like barrels.

They showed us a map of the Celestial Empire, as well as all sorts of articles which they had brought from their own country, such as a beautifully carved wooden bowl, in which they keep their tea ; also a charming little model of the famous porcelain tower at Nankin, and they gave us the necessary explanations with very evident joy. We were obliged to tell our names, which they then inscribed on rice-paper in Italian and Chinese characters, as a memento of our visit : for this purpose they used a brush dipped in Indian ink. Our names, which sounded so strangely to their ears, caused them great difficulty ; and they were obliged to make up with letters somewhat akin in sound for those which are wanting in their own language.

One of them read some passages out of the New Testament translated into Chinese, which sounded strangely enough, most of the words being of one syllable. Another opened his mouth awfully wide, and sang us a national song to a most barbarian tune.

The Chinese with whom we made acquaintance were from the vicinity of Peking. They remarked to us that the climate of their own country, although situated in a more southern latitude than Naples, was yet considerably colder : notwithstanding which, they had all the fruits of southern Italy.

The rector then took us over the beautiful terrace of the house, from whence we overlooked all the north-eastern portion of the city. A charming orangery near us attracted our attention, and we learned that it belonged to the institution, and served as a garden for the pupils, who occasionally varied their walk by a stroll through the city accompanied by their tutors.

We inquired of the ecclesiastic whether he was satisfied with the progress his pupils made : their memory, he replied, was

exceedingly good, and one of them showed a pleasure in and a great aptitude for the sciences. We then parted from the good man, with many thanks : but he refused to accept a trifling present which we had brought for the institution.

THE END.

A POPULAR ACCOUNT
OF THE
MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF INDIA.

Illustrated with Numerous Anecdotes.

BY THE REV. T. ACLAND,
LATE CHAPLAIN AT POOREE, CUTTACK, AND MIDNAPORE.

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P R E F A C E.

THE author of the present work was a clergyman, who, along with his wife, quitted England about the beginning of the year 1842, leaving behind him several young children, to whom, as appears from the letters he constantly addressed to them, he was most affectionately attached.

They left the country full of hope that they should all be reunited at some future period ; but, before he had been three years exposed to the climate of India, he fell a victim to it. It is somewhat melancholy to find him at the outset rejoicing in the very circumstance which in some measure perhaps occasioned his death. The first destination selected for him was little in accordance with his own taste ; and when it subsequently was altered from Assam to Cuttack, he expresses himself delighted with the change, though the first-named province was much more remarkable for its healthfulness than that to which he at length proceeded.

Mr. Acland felt the warmest interest in the education of his children, and, to improve their minds, determined, on quitting England, to send home, from time to time, accurate accounts of his progress, that they might be made acquainted with all he beheld—the places through which he passed

the aspect of the country, its climate, productions, flowers, trees, shrubs, and wild animals. Many an interesting adventure is related in these pages which the author met with in the jungle; the beating of which by the hunting parties, who go forth in bands for that purpose, is described with an animation calculated to awaken much interest.

The letters addressed by Mr. Acland to his children have now been thrown into the form of a Journal, as this method was considered best suited to the general reader. The Editor has, however, been careful to preserve throughout the easy familiar style in which the father first wrote them, that to the children of others they may be equally acceptable and useful.

The books hitherto published on India have been in general, from their bulk, confined to persons arrived at a more advanced period of life; and the Editor of the present volume hopes in some measure to familiarise the subject by bringing it down nearer the comprehension of the youthful reader. This work is intended to describe Indian manners in an interesting way, and will in some measure, it is hoped, supply a portion of the want that has long existed in our literature in this respect. To render the subject more attractive, Mr. Acland was careful to introduce anecdotes and short narratives throughout, which are calculated to amuse, while instruction is at the same time conveyed.

One distinguishing feature may be observed in the whole—viz. a fervent spirit of devotion, which breathes through

every page of the original manuscript. Such passages the Editor has thought it better to omit, as the advice from a father to his children, clothed in the simple language he considered it best to employ, though beautiful and touching in itself, would scarcely appear interesting to the general reader. For this reason the substance of his counsel has been compressed into the present brief Preface.

He impresses upon his children the necessity of living ever in brotherly love, of sustaining and comforting one another, and of seeking the Divine aid in every emergency of life, whether great or small. He shows them how, by trusting implicitly in God and acting according to His commandments, they will attain a peace of mind above all the happiness which an indulgence in the pleasures of this life can bestow. He explains to them, in the gentlest terms, how necessary it is for their welfare here and hereafter that they should act ever in accordance with the expressed wishes of the Almighty; and that they must never cease to remember that He moves about them everywhere, and sees their every action, hears each passionate word, beholds each unbecoming gesture, and will reward or punish according as they indulge in or abstain from evil. In several beautiful passages he portrays the unceasing watchfulness of the Almighty in providing for our daily wants, in supplying us with every necessary of life; and inquires, with truth, Ought not every little heart to be daily grateful to Him, without whose will the sun cannot shine, or rise, or set; without

whose will the refreshing showers could not force and raise up around us the beautiful and necessary things of life? Then he inquires, How can we better show our gratitude for these blessings than by acting in accordance with the wishes of Him who is the cause of so much good?

These words were spoken by a father to his own children; but I would ask those of my young friends into whose hands this little volume may fall, does it not equally touch them? Do they not feel the truth of these sentences? Coming over the many thousand miles which stretch between India and this country, these letters were cherished the more by the three little children to whom they were addressed; and now that the hand is cold which traced the lines, how much more will they be prized!

Whatever may be the fate of the volume with the public, to those whom it more intimately concerns it will be a lasting remembrance of their father, and of the melancholy circumstances connected with his early death. For their sake, the Editor trusts that the present work may meet with at least a moderate share of success; and that, in the endeavour to render more familiar to the youthful mind the names and habits of some of the inhabitants of India, he may not altogether fail.

London, Sept. 1847.

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A POPULAR ACCOUNT
OF THE
MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF INDIA.

Madras, June, 1842.

WE quitted England in the course of March, 1842, and reached Madras in the month of June of the same year. I shall give but a brief sketch of our voyage.

Soon after leaving England, having arrived near Ushant, situated on the north-west coast of France, a tremendous storm came on; the waves rose high and washed the deck, while the ship itself pitched to such a degree that the very dinner rolled off the table; in the night my wife was tossed out of bed, and thrown to the other side of the cabin. We were in the greatest danger of being drowned. I started out of my hammock, but was unable to stand upright. Towards morning, however, the wind abated.

After this storm had passed, the ship went forward rapidly until we reached the equator, where she lay becalmed for several days. The heat at this point of our voyage was excessive; we used to lie about on the deck almost all night, taking care, however, to cover our faces if the moon was shining; for it is said that, in these hot climates, if any one goes to sleep under its light, he is in danger of losing his sight, and even his life.*

* It is doubted whether the injury does not rather arise from the damp night-air than from the effect of the moon-beams.

We now proceeded more slowly until we had rounded the Cape of Good Hope, where another storm came on. Every sail was taken in; yet, without their assistance, we ran, in two days, 545 miles. The waves rose as high as mountains, and the ship seemed to toil up one side, and to send the bowsprit up into the air, then, plunging down again, seemed to bury it in the sea. I was standing with my wife at the door of the dinner cabin when a large wave burst in through the upper part of the ship, flooded the room, and shivered one of our large boats to atoms.

As we were passing the equator, too, we suffered from a tremendous thunder-storm. The heat was excessive: not a breath of wind stirred the air. About twelve o'clock a little cloud, about the size of a man's hand, rose in the horizon: gradually it spread until it hung like a huge black mass over the ship. I stood and watched its increase, when suddenly a vivid flash of lightning shot from the heavens, and almost blinded me. At the same moment a crash of thunder bellowed round the ship like the noise of a thousand cannons. The lightning slightly struck one of our passengers and the mate, but did not inflict any serious injury. The rain now descended: not a sharp thick shower, such as you may witness in England, but as it were all in one mass, and soon every trace of the storm passed away; the sun burst forth, and the ship and sails were dried in the course of a few minutes.

Calm weather was ours now until we reached Madras. During our voyage we observed many curious kinds of birds, the principal of which was the stormy petrel. These creatures quit the land, and fly many thousand miles over the sea in the track of ships, following them by night and by day. The whale-bird is about the size of a thrush, white in colour, and may be seen hovering about the great fish from which it derives its name.

The Cape pigeon is a very beautiful creature, about the size of our own pigeon, white, with black spots on its body, and a blue, glossy head. We several times amused ourselves with catching them; and the way we contrived was, to let fly from our hands a piece of thread several yards in length, which was carried out by the wind, and the pigeon, flying across it,

became entangled in it. In fluttering about in the endeavour to extricate itself, it became only more firmly secured; and then, drawing the string towards us, we caught the bird, and, placing it on the deck, suffered it to walk about. The legs of this pigeon are so peculiarly formed that they are unable to spring up from the ground, and can only rise from the crest of a wave, or throw themselves from the edge of a rock. The albatross is a large white bird, which has been known to measure fourteen or sixteen feet from the tip of one wing to the tip of the other. We used to catch them sometimes by casting out a hook and line, as for a fish.

The Cape hen, which follows the ship in flocks, is large and black, measuring about ten feet from wing to wing. Occasionally we caught a glimpse of the tropic-bird, called by the sailors the boatswain, because of its long pointed tail resembling the pigtail which these men used formerly to wear.

The booby is a large brown bird, about as big as a common hen. I must not forget to tell you something about the pilot-fish. Every shark, whether old or young, is accompanied by a little fish about twelve inches long, and striped like a zebra, which keeps always near the nose of the shark, and seems to guide him to his food.

As I have in this place said so much about birds and fishes, I may as well tell you a little about the animals here in Madras. The first I shall mention is the cow, by which all the carts and many of the carriages are drawn along—sometimes, too, very swiftly. They are much smaller than English cows, and have a hump on their backs. Camels may be seen in the streets patiently carrying heavy loads of goods: the people, however, treat them very cruelly.

As I was going to the cathedral last Sunday I saw a mungoose, a little green and yellow animal, something between a ferret and a squirrel. It is said that when bitten by a snake it runs and rubs the place over with the juice of a certain plant, which immediately cures it.

My samee, or native manservant, who is a Malay, gave me one about as large as a kitten, and quite as playful. It will attain

to the size of a cat; it follows me about, sleeps on the foot of the bed, and if a snake comes into the room will instantly kill it. When an Indian mother wishes to go out, she need only just tell the mungoose to mind the cradle, and then he lies down by it, and suffers neither man nor reptile to approach. This creature, once tamed, is quite wretched out of human society.

The cobra de capello is one of the most poisonous snakes with which we are acquainted. I saw a girl playing with some of them the other day, but their fangs had been extracted.

There are a great number of beautiful birds here; and green paroquets can be purchased for three pence, while an avadavad costs only one penny. The ~~cock~~ avadavad should, when kept, be confined along with twelve hens in a cage.

The large carrion-crow is as common here as the sparrow is in England, and is so tame that they fly close to the houses, and even look in at the windows. Nobody is allowed to shoot or hurt them, because they make themselves useful in carrying away all the dirt from the town. Large vultures are almost as numerous.

I must not forget to mention the mosquito, which is a gnat exactly like those you see in England. Great numbers fly about all the night, and some people suffer much from their bite, but they never touch me.

The flowers here are beautiful, and some smell exceedingly sweet. There are two tall trees, as large as elms, covered with red and yellow flowers about the size of a plate. In the hedges, too, we see very splendid cactuses. I shall be able, however, to tell you more about these things when I have been here longer.

The fruits are exquisite, but it is dangerous to eat them in any quantity. For a pine-apple nearly as big as your head we pay only two anas—that is, three pence; but they are not exactly like those you buy in England. Here they are quite sweet, and soft and juicy as a peach. The mango is a yellow fruit about the size of a large orange, the inside of which is full of a very rich sort of custard. The plantain resembles a dahlia-root, and has very much the same taste as cheese. The guava is in appearance like an apple, but possesses the flavour of a strawberry.

There are several other kinds of fruit, but I have not time to describe them now. I am very fond of the pine-apple and the orange, but do not care for any of the others.

Mother-of-pearl may be bought very cheap here. It is found in a particular kind of oyster-shell, of which I can get three or four for a halfpenny. Though the heat here is excessive, I do not suffer from it: the thermometer in the large room where I am sitting is now $93\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$. The heat causes a kind of rash called the prickle-heat, which is very disagreeable. The sensation to which it gives rise is much the same as would be caused by running needles into the body. In every room, hanging from the ceiling, is a large fan, called a punkah, about four times the size of the door, and a boy is continually employed in swinging it backward and forward, and the current of air thus created cools the whole room. The windows are without glass. Venetian blinds serve instead, and sometimes mats, which are kept constantly wetted. The water soon turns into steam, and, evaporating very fast, carries off with it the latent heat.

When my wife goes to sleep, the little black boy, with no covering but a pair of drawers and a cap, stands near and fans her, while every now and then he sprinkles her face with water as she reclines on the sofa.

The people here are nearly all black, and wear very little clothing. The population is extensive. At dinner we have generally eight or ten men to wait upon us, but they are slow in their movements, and very lazy. The Arabian Nights mentions the fakirs. I have seen some here that have let their feet grow in one position until they cannot move them.

Some of the inhabitants of Madras are afflicted with a curious kind of disease, in which one leg swells to the size of a man's body, while the other is no thicker than the limb of an infant.

When you meet in the street with a native who is at all acquainted with you, or who wishes to express his thanks for anything, instead of merely saying "Thank you," or "How do you do?" he presses his hands upon his eyes, and says "Salaam, sahib." Some English persons, on going out for a walk, may be seen to carry a whip, with which, if the natives are at all

troublesome, they lash them ; but this is a cruel practice. Ladies are prevented by the heat from walking abroad here, and gentlemen seldom do so, but go about in what are called palanquins, which I will describe hereafter. When we ride out, however swiftly we go, a man called a coolie runs by the side of the carriage. We are obliged to get up here at about half-past five in the morning, and then we go out for a drive, or in the palanquin ; at half-past seven the sun is too powerful even for that exercise : we then return home, take a cold bath, and breakfast. At half-past six in the evening we are enabled to go out again a little. In the middle of the day we take a nap.

July 1st.

A FEW days ago I saw a native wedding. At about nine in the evening I was disturbed by a noise of drums and squeaking trumpets. Looking out of the window, I saw a large party with torches conducting the bride to her husband's home. She was entirely covered by a white veil, and walked in the midst of her relations.

I went to pay a visit to the Newab, a native prince of these parts, but did not succeed in obtaining an interview. He is about fifteen years of age, and generally goes out in a carriage drawn by seven horses. His uncles ride by his side on elephants, while his cousins run with the carriage.

The natives are a fine athletic race of men, with every appearance of possessing talent and intellect. The tricks of the jugglers are very entertaining : they will swallow swords, throw up three or four knives or cannon-balls, and catch them on their necks, and pull balls of cotton out of their throats, and make snakes dance.

Bishop's Palace, Calcutta, July 15.

HERE we are arrived safely at this place, after a very disagreeable voyage, the worst part of which was the travelling up the river Hoogly. We were becalmed for some time, and merely drifted up a few miles a-day with the tide. However, I was much interested one day by watching a cloud, which, after moving and whirling about for a little time, began to send down a little thin point towards the river. Presently the column increased in size, while underneath the waves seemed to rise to meet it; and when they had done so a great quantity of the water was sucked up by the cloud, which grew larger in consequence, and then steered away towards the land: this was a water-spout.

The place in which we live—that is, our hotel—is a large house, three stories high, surrounding a square, and on each side are forty-two windows in a row.

Immediately after landing I went to pay my respects to the archdeacon, and to inform him of my arrival. Not finding him at home, I proceeded to the bishop, who treated me very hospitably, and invited us to his house.

On returning home I found that during my absence the archdeacon's wife and daughter had been calling on my wife, for the purpose of inviting us to their house; but having already accepted the offer of the bishop, we, of course, were compelled to decline this. In the bishop's palace we have two very large apartments assigned to us, besides a bath-room, and a verandah, about three hundred yards long, to walk in. I was scarcely located here, however, before I received an order to proceed to Gowhattie, in Assam, and to assume the clerical superintendence of the whole province. At Gowhattie there is one European lady, and there are five European gentlemen, who are the only ones within two hundred and seventy miles. My parish, if such it can be called, is about twice the size of England, and I shall be continually travelling about.

But I must now tell you something about this place. The principal animals here are buffaloes, elephants, and tigers, of whose numbers you may form an idea by the fact of the Govern-

ment having offered a reward for every tiger's head. Last year, in the province of Assam, the number of heads brought in was two thousand six hundred, and yet these animals seem to be as numerous as ever.

We shall have to travel in a little boat, called a budjeon, with two cabins, up to Gowhattie. The boatmen are black, and we shall be the only passengers on board. We must be provided besides with two other boats, the one with the fowls and goats in it for cooking, and the other with the luggage. We shall be rather more than two months on the voyage, and must take with us enough provisions for a year. When we reach Gowhattie the boat must serve us for a home until we have built one with mats and reeds.

There are some large birds here called adjutants, about five feet high, with long white legs, black bodies, bare necks, and a beak like pelicans. They are generally seen perched on the tops of houses. The fire-flies are very pretty : on a fine night a number of them are seen flitting about the lanes and gardens glittering like stars.

The bull-frogs make a noise at night almost as loud as the bark of a dog. A pretty brown and white bird is to be found here, singing much like a blackbird ; it is called a miner.

Calcutta is well termed the city of palaces, since every house is a noble mansion. Most of the rooms are at least fifteen feet high and twenty-six feet square, and along every story there is a verandah, supported by stone columns. The language of the people here seems to have retained many traces of the Portuguese, who were here before the English. For instance, the bishop is called de Lord Padre, and I go by the name of Padre Sahib.

We have no bells by which to summon the servants, who lie on the mat outside the room door ; when we require them we call out, without rising from the sofa, " Qui hi ? " (who is there ?) then the sirdar, or valet, runs in. We give him our orders, which he reports to the others. Although I am staying at the bishop's, and dine at his table, and use his carriage, I am obliged to have five servants. I have one kitmajar, or waiter, who does nothing but attend at table. The bishop's kitmajars will wait

only upon their own master. Then I have one ayah, or lady's-maid, for my wife; a sirdar, or bearer; and a matee-sirdar, or assistant-bearer. These men make the beds and assist me to dress. I have also a punkah-bearer—that is, a man who sits outside the room, and is constantly employed in pulling a string fastened to a punkah, or enormous fan, without which no Englishman could live in India. Besides these I pay a pooney-bearer, or water-carrier, and a matranes. When I go up the country I shall be obliged to have a consummar, or head servant; a dobee, or washerwoman; a dugay, or tailor; a syce, or grass-cutter; and one or two others. We cannot do with less, because, if I were to ask the kitmajar to fetch my coat, he would twist his mustachios, and say, "Me no sirdar;" or if I were to ask my sirdar to wait at table, he would say, "Kitmajar no do dat."

August 6, 1842.

THE bishop has changed my appointment from Assam to Cuttack. The different towns I shall have under my jurisdiction are Midnapore, Balasore, and Poonee. Midnapore is situated eighty miles south of Calcutta, and Cuttack two hundred and forty. Poonee stands on the coast a little to the south of the great plain of Juggernat'h, which forms a part of my district.

We expect to leave Calcutta next week, and shall go down the river as far as Ooloberriab. Here we shall quit the boat for palanquins, and shall travel by night, it being too sultry to proceed by day. At Midnapore we shall stay for a few days at the judge's house, whilst I look about for one. Here we shall probably remain about three months, and shall then proceed to Poonee. Whichever of the two towns I discover to be the pleasantest and most agreeable I shall make my permanent abiding-place, only travelling occasionally to each of the others. Every one tells me my station is one of the healthiest in Bengal. Midnapore, standing on a high hill, will be best for the wet weather; Poonee, on the sea, for the hot months; and Cuttack, with a nice sea-breeze, for the winter.

The principal dangers we have to apprehend on our journey to Midnapore are the dacoits, or mountain robbers, the tigers, and the sudden swelling of the rivers from the rains.

Now, I must tell you a little of our mode of life here. At half-past five in the morning we have a cup of coffee, and then go out for a ramble. It is the only hour in the day in which it is possible to walk. If we were to go out for half an hour in the middle of the day it would most likely cause our death. At seven we take a cold bath, and pour great jars of water over our heads. I used to enjoy bathing in England, but here it becomes the greatest possible luxury. After this is over we read or write until nine, and then breakfast. At two we have tiffin, which is lunch, with plenty of meat. At five in the afternoon we have an hour's drive, at half-past seven we dine, at nine tea, and to bed at ten. These are the regular Indian hours, but as soon as I have a house of my own I mean to dine at three.

When on any occasion I ask for a glass of cold water it is brought to me with a lump of ice in it. This is excessively refreshing in a country like this, where the thermometer is at 90°. It is brought in shiploads from America. At new and full moon there is what is called a "bore" in the river Hoogly, that is, the tide, instead of coming up gradually, swells up in one large wave. When I saw it the other day it rose thirty feet in height.

Midnapore, September 12, 1842.

On the 14th of August I sent two boats full of furniture to Midnapore, and on the 16th we started ourselves in a boat with two large cabins and one small. I had nine Indians to manage it. Another smaller boat contained our palanquins, two servants, and a little sort of kitchen.

In going down the Hoogly river we met with an accident, and were nearly overturned; the wind drove us with great force against a large ship in a severe squall. We however reached

Ooloberriab, a native village on the Hoogly, in safety. Here we turned into a canal, up which we journeyed for some miles, and then anchored for the night. The next morning, having slept on board, we proceeded on our course, and reached the Khatah Ghat, or landing-place (pronounced gaut), at about twelve o'clock. Here we remained until four in the afternoon, entered our palanquins, a kind of square boxes, which are carried on men's shoulders, handsomely painted outside, with soft cushions inside, and lamps like a carriage. In this sort of thing we move about everywhere, and in crossing a river do not wet our feet. To each palanquin there are eight bearers, four of whom are employed at a time; one mussualchee, or torch-bearer, runs by the side, along with one baugh-whaller, to carry boxes made of tin, and called patarahs. Each man carries two slung to a stick over his shoulder.

My wife travels in one palanquin, and I in another. We had taken care to write beforehand that a dâk, or men, might be in readiness to carry us on at each stage; and we therefore proceeded rapidly through the whole night.

Soon after leaving Khatah Ghat we found the road for two miles under water, which reached far above the men's knees; and at one time, indeed, I was afraid it would have entered the palanquin; but the only accident that actually happened was the breaking of one of the baughley-whaller's sticks, and the tin patarah, containing clothes, floated away, but, after some trouble, was again secured. We slept most comfortably in our palanquins during our journey, and arrived at Midnapore early in the morning. Here we stayed at the house of the judge until I could choose a home for myself, in which we are now at last settled. Everybody here is most kind and hospitable, and, indeed, it is necessary it should be so, for, excepting in Calcutta, there are no inns, and travellers would fare very badly were the houses of the principal people closed against them. But when you go on a visit you must be careful to take your own servants, sheets, towels, and soap. My house is called a bungalow, which I chose as being the most economical. A bungalow is a thatched cottage, with only one ground story.

The floors of the rooms are not made of wood, but a sort of cement which looks like stone. The house stands in the midst of a large field called a compound, which belongs to me, and the servants' dwellings are scattered around.

I have a flower and kitchen garden, fowl-house and place for goats, kitchen, stable, cowhouse, and a banyan-tree. The pathways through the grass are of fine gravel, and the hedges are composed almost entirely of aloes and cactuses, mixed with a very sweet-smelling flowering shrub, and here and there a bamboo, which is a most beautiful tree, resembling a very tall weeping-willow. The sensitive-plant grows wild about the compound, and bears a very pink flower resembling that of the red cloves.

The banyan-tree is abundant here. Each branch projects stalks downwards, which take root in the earth, and after a few years one tree resembles a cluster, and covers a large space of ground. I have several aloes in my garden, which are just flowering. They have thrown up a straight stalk about twenty feet high. A large cactus is now in bloom. It is about ten feet high, and each stem or leaf is thicker round than my leg. This kind bears a very beautiful large white flower, which opens only at night. In my kitchen-garden are the mango, the plantain, Indian corn, pine-apple trees, and many others.

Carpets are not used here, but the floors are covered instead with India matting. In each room is a punkah, which I have before described.

We procure water for drinking from a large tank or pond; and as we cannot purchase meat, I have provided myself with thirty-five ducks, sixty fowls, four goats, and three kids, which last are almost ready to eat; the goats we shall keep for their milk. The judge made me a present of a beautiful fawn of the spotted deer, which is becoming very tame. I am just going to join a mutton-club. Four persons enter into partnership, and agree to keep a small flock of sheep; one of which is killed twice a-week, and then each partner is provided with a quarter of mutton, and each in turn has the liver, heart, and head. A gentleman yesterday sent me four guinea-fowls, and another has promised me six pigeons as soon as I have a place to keep them in.

I have just begun to make a collection of insects, snakes, and butterflies and moths, of the most beautiful kind. The chameleon is very common, and changes its colour according to the temper it is in. I have one which is generally of a brilliant green; but if its anger be roused, it becomes covered with large black spots, and when hungry with white spots. These are the only changes in its colour I have as yet observed: but I have seen others yellow; others, again, black, with yellow spots. It is said that each chameleon has ten different variations of colour. There is to be seen here a light-brown lizard, called the bloodsucker, which is constantly running about the walls in the rooms. Whenever we take up a paper or a book, we are sure to find two or three cockroaches under it—not such cockroaches as you may see in England, but great ones three or four inches long. The grasshoppers come into the house in numbers, and grow to an uncommon size. You may hear them chirruping half a mile off. The ants, of which there are three sorts, are a great nuisance. Every house swarms with them; and unless the legs of tables, drawers, &c., are kept constantly standing in jars of water, they attack the dinner-cloths, and in fact everything they can reach: 1st, there is a very small red ant, whose bite causes a very hard red swelling, which continues very painful for some days; 2nd, a great black ant, about the size of an English wasp, which bites, but does not sting; 3rd, the white ant, rather larger than the common English ant, which come in a swarm, and in one night will devour a table or a shelf full of books. You may come down in the morning and find your table and books apparently all right, but no sooner do you touch them than they all crumble away to powder.

There are a great number of snakes about here, though I have not yet seen one. I suspect that my mongoose or ichneumon keeps them away, as he is an inveterate enemy to all vermin. A venomous lizard, about a foot long, black, with yellow stripes down the sides, often comes into our verandah, but as soon as it hears the mongoose it disappears with all possible despatch; as do also the poisonous centipedes, of which there are several in the house. The noise of the mongoose is very peculiar,

generally purring like a cat, but when angry it barks short and snappishly, while every hair on its long tail stands on end.

I have already mentioned to you that there are here the tiger, the lion, the monkey, the leopard, the buffalo, the elephant (tame), the spotted deer, the jackal, the flying fox : all these I shall describe as the opportunities offer ; now I shall tell you something about the monkey.

I was walking out early in the morning, and reached a very large pepul-tree, covered with its red berries. Presently I heard some one chattering over my head, and looking up beheld an enormously long ape as tall as myself, with a white face and great whiskers. He gazed at me for a moment, and then chattered again. The noise becoming louder and louder, I ran from under the tree, and soon saw a great number of these animals of different sizes come leaping down, and, after a stare, as much as to say "don't follow us," they made a few tremendous leaps, and escaped into the jungle.

The Indian buffalo has no hump on its back. It is like an immense black cow, but exceedingly fierce. As yet I have seen only tame ones. A gentleman who lives here was walking out in the jungle the other evening, with the intention of shooting some birds, when he saw before him a large bull buffalo. When alone these creatures are much more fierce than when with the herd. He did not, therefore, much relish his close acquaintance ; and, turning round, strove to creep quietly away. Hearing a loud roar behind him, he looked back, and beheld the buffalo in full chase after him, tossing his head most furiously. The gentleman scarcely knew what to do, as there was no tree near into which he might climb ; but he was surrounded by low bushes. Turning suddenly round, therefore, he stood still, and, looking steadfastly at the buffalo, loaded his gun. On came the animal, nearer and nearer, looking fiercer and fiercer. At last, when about twenty yards off, he stopped one minute as if in hesitation, and then, with a loud roar, turned his head, and, tearing up the ground with his hoofs, was on the point of rushing onward, when the gentleman raised his gun as a last resource, and fired.

The ball entered through the eye into the brain, and the monster rolled over the plain.

I have since seen the skull and the horns, which are of great size. The elephants are very large, and there are none but tame ones here. The major of the regiment quartered at this place has offered to lend us one whenever we are inclined for a ride.

The jackals are a source of great annoyance at night: they come into the compound and howl round the house, and make a dreadful noise, but are not dangerous. There are swarms of wild dogs too here, called pariah dogs—quite harmless. They resemble a hairy greyhound with a fox's head. The flying-fox is a sort of bat. Its large black wings are nearly four feet from tip to tip, and the body is like a small fox. They fly about the trees at night, and pick the fruit and berries. The birds are very beautiful. There are many sorts of doves and pigeons. One sort of the last-named is quite green; as is also the fly-catcher, which has a long single feather in the middle of his tail. The mango is about the size of a pigeon, yellow, with green stripes. There are also the pretty little amadavad, and many others.

I am making a collection of large beetles.

Midnapore is situated on a high table-land, or flat-topped hill, about six miles across, and is much cooler than the greater part of India. The soil is about a foot deep, and underneath it is a volcanic rock, so porous that the rain soaks into it as soon as it falls, thus rendering the place dry and healthy. From the middle of June to the middle of October there are tremendous storms of rain almost every day. Then it is cool and pleasant till February. After that time the heat increases, and the weather is quite dry until April; from which time until June it is intensely hot, with occasional hurricanes and thunderstorms, of which we have had several most magnificent ones lately; and from the height of the hills we seem almost to be in the midst of them.

Indigo, rice, and grain are plentiful. The first is obtained by soaking the leaves of the plant in water until they are rotten, when they deposit a thick blue sediment, which is formed into cakes, and is used for dyeing cloths.

We have some wild silkworms, from which the natives manu-

facture a coarse sort of silk. The rice grows in fields which are under water, and looks like barley. These fields beautifully illustrate the expression in the Bible about casting your seed upon the waters, and after many days you shall find it again.

The greatest expenses here are servants and house-rent. I pay for my house, which is one of the cheapest in Midnapore, forty rupees a-month ; a rupee is two shillings. I keep as few domestics as I can ; but am obliged to have eleven men and one woman. The men are—

- 1 consummar, or headman.
- 1 kitmajar, or waiter at table.
- 1 sirdar, who attends to lamps, furniture, &c.
- 1 bearer, who works the punkah and helps the sirdar.
- 1 dirgee, or tailor, who mends stockings, and makes gowns, coats, shirts, &c.
- 2 maistrees, or carpenters.
- 2 mollees, or gardeners.
- 1 motee, who sweeps the rooms and keeps them in order.
- 1 beaste, or water-carrier.

We neither feed nor clothe them : indeed their food consists of nothing but rice, except the consummar and kitmajar, who are Mussulmans. Their pay varies from three to ten rupees a-month. Many people keep forty or fifty men. The sirdar, or bearer, sleeps on a mat in the verandah ; the others in houses in the compound. They are all forbidden by their religion to do the work of any other ; their fathers and grandfathers performed the same duties, and so will their sons and grandsons also. They are a thievish set, and we dare not leave anything in their way that they can steal.

There is at this moment a little grey squirrel hopping about in the verandah,—facing the gate of the compound are several tame buffaloes,—and a little beyond is an elephant lying down basking in the sun and lashing his trunk about upon the grass.

There is an insect here called the flying-bug ; it resembles in appearance a very large ant with wings, and, if one of them flies through the room, it leaves so disagreeable a smell that it can hardly be borne for an hour afterwards.

September 15.

TO-DAY is a rustic festival; the carpenters and all other workmen have a holiday, and, daubing all their tools with red paint, cover them with flowers, and then kneel down and worship them, and beg them to work well and not to break during the next year. This is called the "poujah of tools."

October 9, 1842.

WE have had several thunderstorms here. A few days ago I saw a large black cloud coming up against the wind. Gradually it spread until it covered the whole sky. The wind now died away for a few minutes, and then rose again and seemed to rush from all quarters of the heavens at once, and formed a sort of whirlwind round Midnapore; then from the darkest part of the cloud flashed a vivid streak of lightning, followed almost immediately by a terrific clap of thunder. For three hours the storm continued, and scarcely three minutes elapsed between each clap, while we saw the lightning running along the ground for several yards.

The other morning two men who lived in Midnapore caught a cobra de capello, or hooded snake, and they were examining it when suddenly it bit them both, and they died in the course of half an hour. We have not yet seen any snakes in our house, although most people frequently find them. This, as I think I told you, I attribute to our keeping the mungoose, of which the snakes are much afraid.

The chikary, or huntsman, makes a large oval shield, which he covers over with leaves: in the upper part are two very small holes. When he perceives a bird he crouches down behind his screen, keeping a watch through the two little holes, and creeping on very slowly. When he has approached near enough, he thrusts forward a long thin stick like a fishing-rod, and touches the bird with one end of it, on which there is a little lime; the bird sticks to it, and then the man draws back the pole and secures the animal.

In this way a great number of partridges are taken, with snipes, woodcocks, pigeons, &c. I had two hoopoes given me the other day. The Major who commands this station has four elephants for the use of the troops under him, to carry their tents when they are marching; and whenever we like it he lends us one for a ride. On the back of the elephant is placed a large pad, and on that is a thing like a great cradle, with two seats in it. A man sits on the neck with his feet in stirrups of rope, and a pointed piece of iron in his hand, which he presses behind the elephant's ears to guide him. Another man runs by the side and encourages the animal in Hindustanee. When we want to get on his back, the man on the neck presses the iron rod on the middle of the animal's head, and he kneels down; a ladder is immediately brought, and we climb up into the seat, or houdah, as it is called, and then the huge monster rises again. His pace is very slow and very jolting. He is not allowed to pass over any bridges, lest his weight should shake them down; he accordingly goes through the water instead. Neither may he go where he is likely to meet many horses, lest he should frighten them.

My costume here would make you smile. I wear thin shoes, white stockings, white trowsers, a short black cassock reaching a little below the knees, and a hat made of pith covered with black merino—the crown is about four inches high, and the rim about six or seven inches wide. This is my out-of-door dress. Indoors, unless when any one calls, I wear a white jacket instead of the cassock. I am without any waistcoat. At a dinner-party, black silk socks, black trowsers, and my long black silk cassock.

The only coins in use at Midnapore are the pice and the rupee; the pice is worth a farthing and a half, and the rupee about two shillings. Another kind of money passes here, viz. a little shell called a cowrie, of which 120 are worth a pice. At Madras and Calcutta there are many other sorts.

The insects are a great nuisance here. If the candles were not protected by a glass shade they would be instantly extinguished. Thousands of insects of all sizes swarm, jumping and flying about the lamps, of all colours, green, yellow, blue; and many of them sting, whilst others smell most abominably.

Every morning the mollie, or gardener, brings in a basket of vegetables for us to look at, and select what we shall require for the day's consumption. The cold-weather here begins about the middle of October, generally on the 15th, and we are all looking very anxiously for it; but by cold I mean only such a lower degree of heat as will enable us to go out in the middle of the day (provided we carry a great parasol), which we cannot do now.

At a dinner-party every one brings his or her own table servant. This assemblage has a very pretty appearance: the ladies are all in white dresses and short sleeves, and the gentlemen in white jackets and trowsers, except the Major and myself; he wears a red jacket, and I a black cassock. Behind each chair stands a dark-brown man with long black beard and mustachios, dressed in a sort of white tunic and a white turban, with a coloured sash wound several times round the waist. As it would be the greatest mark of disrespect for a servant to appear in the presence of his master with covered feet, they all leave their shoes outside the door. After the meat is cleared away, before the puddings are brought in, the servants go out and smoke for five minutes. There is not a man, either Mussulman or Hindoo, except of the very lowest caste, who would eat anything that came from the table of a European. They would consider it a degradation, and would not even drink out of anything we had ever used, or touch what we had cooked. The Hindoos eat only once a-day, unless on their grand feasts. Their food then is boiled rice, with perhaps an onion and a little spice in it, which they eat with their hands.

The language of this country, though confessedly a compound of two or three Eastern tongues, appears to me to have many remains of what must have been the original language of man, that is to say, those which must have existed from the very earliest time bear a close propinquity to the words of other and later languages. Several instances which came under my notice bear out this opinion.

It is curious to observe how the different castes or ranks here keep distinct, and it is this which renders so many servants necessary. The man who lays the cloth would feel degraded by

dusting a chair, and he who dusts the chair would rather leave his place than dust the room. Again, two men of different castes will neither eat, drink, nor sleep together. Their bed is a mere mat, which explains well that saying of our Saviour, "Take up thy bed and walk."

The other day my basin had not been emptied. I told the carah of it, whose business it is to attend to my apartment, and he went a hundred or more yards to call the matee, because it would have been beneath his dignity to throw the water out into the adjoining bath-room. The men here are a sadly idle set; they make almost slaves of their wives. Early in the morning we may see troops of women going out into the jungle, from which they return in the evening with great fagots of wood; these fagots are about twelve feet in length, and in the middle quite two in thickness, and are carried on the head. The poor creatures are obliged continually to stop and rest.

The higher classes of the natives wear a kind of loose white gown, down to the knees, and very loose trowsers, also white embroidered slippers, no stockings, and a white turban. The lower classes wear nothing but a long white cloth tied round their hips.

Every one here, both native and European, takes a cold bath at least once a-day. When a native dies his body is burnt, and to make the funeral pile every native keeps four or five large trees growing in his garden. As soon as he dies, one, or two, or three trees, according to the man's rank, are cut down and surrounded with a great quantity of dry stubble, on which the body is placed. Formerly, his wife was burnt alive at the same time. This was called a sati. There are a great many tombs of holy men about the country, and on these the people throw little wooden images. There is one tomb here on which are placed two large dumb-bells, and the people imagine that every Sunday night the man who is buried there rises up and plays with them. There is one very disagreeable custom here, which exists more or less all over India; it is called dustoorie. Whenever anything is bought, for every rupee that is paid the seller is obliged to give the servant of the purchaser two pice; so that the more he

has to buy, the better it is for the servant ; and if a master were to say he would not allow dustoorie, no native would enter his service.

I have just been to look at the man who is making me some white jackets. The women here never do any needlework. The men sit down on the floor, and hold the work between the great toe and the next.

I was the other day in want of a sheet of pith, on which to fasten some butterflies, and, going into my dressing-room, where I knew I had left four pieces on a shelf only the day before, I found them apparently in good condition ; but, on taking them up, discovered them to be only so much dust. I then examined the other things upon the shelf, and found them to be in the same state. This was the work of the white ant, which was swarming about. I called the carah and sent him to the bazaar, or the place where all the little shops are, and told him to procure me sixteen pice worth of turpentine, and when it was brought I spread it over the shelf, and, soaking into the wood, it destroyed the ants. If let alone they would, in about two days, have eaten the chest of drawers, all my clothes, and everything in the room. I have just been engaged in catching with a green net on the end of the bamboo a most beautiful swallow-tailed butterfly, and in doing so frightened away a jackal, who was so impertinent as to intrude into the compound in the middle of the day.

Midnapore, November 11, 1842.

A FRIEND has just made me a present of a very small kind of monkey, about nine inches high, of a light-brown colour. His antics are often very amusing. I fasten him by a chain to a thick pole in the compound, at the top of which is his house. He will sometimes turn his waterpot upside down and sit on it in the gravest possible manner. He will then perhaps stoop down and gather a blade of grass, and examine it as attentively as though he were inquiring to what species and genus it belonged.

Perhaps by this time several large knowing-looking crows, something like English magpies, will have collected round him, holding their heads on one side and looking as if they were listening very attentively to his lecture on botany. Presently you would see the sly little monkey turn his eye to see how near they are, and then with one bound he will catch hold of the nearest crow by the neck; but the crow is the stronger of the two and always gets away safe. These crows are as common as sparrows and quite as tame, for they will hop into the verandah and pick up anything the parrots drop. We have two parrots; they are of a kind very common here; so I told a man to go out and catch me a couple, as I wanted to teach them to talk. He did so, and they are now getting very tame. I gave him a few pice for his trouble. They are of a kind that I do not remember ever to have seen in England. The upper mandible is red, the lower black. From the lower mandible extends on each side a broad black stripe, to where we suppose the ears to be; and there is another black stripe from one eye to the other. These stripes give the bird a very peculiar appearance. The upper circle resembles a pair of tortoiseshell spectacles.

I had a young hyæna given to me, which I made every endeavour to tame, giving him milk and food, but nevertheless as soon as I approached he flew at me. As he has scarcely any teeth I did not fear him, but took him in my arms, being careful to keep a tight hold on his neck. He slept during the day, but showed an inclination to go out at night, but, not being permitted to do so, continued making the most extraordinary noises resembling the sobbing of a child in pain. The servants were all afraid of him. Having kept us awake that night, I resolved the next to try him outside the house, and accordingly, fastening him up, I gave him a box to sleep in. The next morning I found he was dead. The servants declared he had been killed by a pack of jackals, but I shrewdly suspected they themselves to have been guilty.

The other day I caught one of those beautiful little squirrels which I have before described. It is grey, with a broad yellow stripe down each side. The body is about as big as my thumb,

and the tail the size of my middle finger. I borrowed a common squirrel's cage, but the little thing was so small that it immediately struggled through the wires, and the mungoose, perceiving it, killed and devoured it. A great many of them live in the thatch of our house.

The musk-rat is a small sharp-snouted animal, from which musk may be extracted. The scent rising from it is overpowering. All the houses here swarm with them, but the mungoose has either killed or driven away all that were here, and our house therefore is quite free from the smell. The mungoose is very destructive. I just left the room for a few minutes, and while absent it commenced demolishing some eggs which I had brought in from the fowl-house: there were eight on the table; he had broken five over my papers and then dipped his paws in the ink and ran over the table. Whilst punishing him for this fault I held him by the neck, but he nevertheless managed to give me a severe scratch with his claws. He is a thorough beast of prey, and will eat nothing but animal food except sugar.

The prawns here are most delicious, and many of them are as large as a good-sized lobster. I was crossing my compound in the dusk a few evenings ago, after feeding my fowls and ducks. I walked slowly, thinking of England and my children, when I happened suddenly to cast my eyes upon the ground. I started back on perceiving within two paces of me the dreaded cobra de capello—its head raised, its hood expanded, and manifesting every sign of anger. Two, or at most three, steps more, and I should have trodden upon it and received the fatal bite. Unfortunately I had no stick in my hand; I called the servants to bring bamboos, but by the time they came it had glided into its hole, and I went home thanking the Supreme Being who had saved me from the fearful danger. Since that time I have not been out without a large bamboo in my hand, for, although I have stopped up the hole, yet the cobra de capello is, no doubt, still in my compound. The bite of this snake is most deadly.

During the last fortnight I have heard of three persons having been killed by it in Midnapore. Two of them were hunters, the other was one of the wives of the Rajah. She put her

hand into a cupboard to procure something, when a cobra, which had concealed itself there, bit her. When a person is wounded by this venomous reptile he generally expires within an hour. The only possible cure, and that is an uncertain one, is to swallow every few minutes a glass of brandy with some eau de luce, or smelling-salts, dissolved in it, while a man stands near beating you with a heavy whip. Or, instead of this, you may be fastened to a carriage and be compelled to run as fast as possible. The object is to keep you awake, for the danger of the bite consists in the heavy lethargy it produces. The remedies applied, however, are sure to bring on a violent fever, which frequently proves fatal. Few diseases in this country last longer than an hour or two. Fever, cholera, and inflammation of the liver, the three great scourges of India, commonly prove fatal within from two to twelve hours, so that no one can exist here without being constantly reminded of the uncertainty of human life. It is curious that I, who dreaded so greatly the reptiles of India, should have been at once sent to the station where they most abound, for there is probably no place in Bengal where serpents and lizards are so plentiful. Our house is infested by numbers of centipedes, which get on the chairs and on the clothes in a most unpleasant manner. However, we have neither of us yet been bitten.

I have not seen a scorpion alive. My wife and I were walking in the compound the other day, when we saw a very large snake looking at us through the hedge of aloes. It was of a light-brown, and was, I think, five or six feet long.

The other day my servants brought me in a venomous snake which they said they had killed in the compound; I took it up by its tail and carried it into my wife's dressing-room to show it to her. I laid it down on the floor, and soon it began to wriggle away, and, raising its head, turned at us. Fortunately there was a stick at hand, and, taking it up, I killed the animal with one blow. So great is the dread of them here, that no one ever sleeps without a light, lest, stepping out of bed at night, he should place his foot upon some venomous creature; most people keep a long bamboo in every room. We never put on our shoes without first

examining well to see that there is nothing alive in them. The oil which we burn in the evening and at night is extracted from the cocoa-nut and has a most agreeable smell. For this purpose cocoa-nuts are brought from Ceylon and all the neighbouring islands. This oil could not be used in England, because it congeals into a sort of fat when the thermometer is at 64° .

We have a kind of root here which they call a yam, although I do not think it is one. It is brown outside and white within; about two feet long and thickest at the middle, where it is four inches in diameter. This they boil and then fry into lumps; it is exceedingly nice. Potatoes are scarce, dear, and bad, except sweet ones, which I like; they are very stringy, and taste like potatoes mixed with sugar.

I think I have described to you the graceful appearance of the bamboo-tree, but it is its extreme usefulness that renders it so precious. It is a sort of hollow strong cane, and serves for the upright posts at the corners of the native houses and also for the door-posts. To our own bungalows or thatched houses it forms the rafters to support the thatch; it is used for scaffolding and for ladders without any shaping or preparing. One joint of it makes a very good bottle; a long piece of it, with one side cut off and the stoppage at the joints cut away, makes a waterspout or watercourse, or a thing for fowls to eat or drink out of. In short, it would be tedious to enumerate the many uses to which it is put.

I had the other day an instance of the extent to which servants carry the system of doing each his own work and no one else. I had been feeding the parrots with a little rice and had spilt a few grains of it upon the table. I called the barah, or furniture-cleaner: he said it was the parrot's food, and therefore it was the waiter's business to clean it up. I told him to do as he was bid, but he would not, and then I said that if he did not I should discharge him with a character for disobedience; this he preferred to doing what he considered was not his own work, so I sent him away at once.

None of my servants can speak a word of English, and I am sometimes rather at a loss on this account; but I always keep a

dictionary on the table, and I am rapidly acquiring a knowledge of the Hindustanee language. There are no shops that Europeans can go to, except at Calcutta. In the country, which is called the Mofussil, a sort of pedlars come round with goods. I offer them generally one-third of the price they name, and they in most cases take it. The other day, my wife was making up her accounts, and asked the kitmajar how much he had given for a certain article; the man said, "Three rupees." My wife replied that she did not think he had given so much; he answered, "Yes, three rupees." She said, "Now, I don't believe you gave more than two rupees;" to which his answer was, "Yes, I gave two rupees." Still she did not credit him, and said, "Now, I am sure you only gave one rupee;" and he replied, "Yes, one rupee." And he was quite satisfied: and all this time he answered as calmly as possible, and did not appear in the least ashamed; and yet this man is one who is considered a very good servant, and whom I believe to be as honest as any one I have.

November 12.

LAST night, a little before ten o'clock, my wife was gone to bed, and I was sitting up reading and writing. In this country, you may know, the servants at each house, instead of having a clock, strike a gong at every hour. It is a flat circular plate of bell metal, which, when struck with a wooden mallet, gives forth a very loud ringing sound. Just before the gong struck ten, I heard a noise like that of a buggy (or gig with a large head to it to keep the sun off) approaching.* I thought to myself, "Why, there must be a party somewhere to-night;" at which I wondered not a little, because every one asks the Padre Sahib to their parties, and I had received no invitation. The next moment the noise seemed to increase, and become like the motion of a large heavy carriage. Almost immediately after, with a sound like rolling thunder, the whole house rocked backwards and for-

* It is the most common sort of carriage in India.

wards, while I was nearly thrown off the chair on which I was sitting.

The rumbling continued, I should think, for about a minute before the shock of the earthquake came, and for about a quarter of a minute after, while the shock itself may have occupied about ten minutes.

I was quite startled ; and, proceeding to my wife's bedroom, advised her to get up and put on something warm, lest we should have to pass the night out of doors. I then went to the store-room, and made the best provision I could for a bivouac : my preparations were, however, needless, as the shock was not repeated.

I can compare the motion to nothing so well as to the pitching of a small boat in a short cross-sea, or where two tides meet one another. My wife said her bed gave two distinct pitches up and down. While I was making my preparations for departure I heard a loud noise of crows, ducks, fowls, and all sorts of birds, cawing, cackling, and screaming, as if they were very much frightened. The natives all round started up and blew their conchs (a sort of shell, which they use instead of a trumpet) ; and this morning every one is talking about the earthquake.

Speaking of the natives reminds me of the subject of the population of India, which is very much exaggerated. It cannot be compared, in proportion to the extent of the country, to that of England. There are said to be 40,000 natives in Midnapore, though I much doubt the fact ; and then on every side, farther than the eye can reach, extends a vast expanse of thick jungle (that is, bushes growing so close together as to be altogether impassable, and full of tigers, deer, leopards, buffaloes, elephants, &c.) ; and as the same is the case throughout the whole of India, I should think that nine-tenths of the country consists of thick, close jungle, or enormous swamps. Here and there, amidst all this, is found a small native village, composed of a few huts ; but the population in such places is probably not above one in thirty square miles on the average ; this is, of course, a mere rough guess. The jungle-men, who are nearly black, though not at all resembling the negro in feature, are said to be the

original inhabitants of the country. Their religion is unknown, and I believe they possess no written language. The people were driven into the bushes by the lighter race of men, whom many suppose to have been some of the ancient Egyptians, probably not less than two or three thousand years ago. Amongst this race sprang up, even subsequently to this, the religion, or rather superstition, of Hindooism. Again, about seven or eight hundred years ago, the whole country was overrun and conquered by the Mohammedans. Seventy or eighty years ago we obtained a firm footing in a small portion of the country. Not long after, the Mahratta chiefs attacked the Mohammedans in various places; the Mohammedans called upon us for assistance; and thus we, in time became possessors of almost the whole country.

The greatest difficulty in the pronunciation of the language is the letter *h*, which is always aspirated, and never pronounced as it is in our *th*, and yet this letter often comes after a consonant.

The money in the Mofussil, or country, is a source of much annoyance. If you want to change a ten-pound note, they give you no gold, but 100 rupees; if you want change for a rupee, they give you 64 pice; and if you change a pice, they give you 24 cowries. But as there are no shops, and all the people bring their goods to the house, this does not signify much.

If you were to go to Midnapore, and to ask a native where Acland Sahib lived (sahib means white gentleman), he would not be able to tell you; but if you were to ask for the Padre Sahib, he would immediately direct you to my house.

When I came here I was going to stay with the judge: I told the palanquin-bearers to take me to his house, mentioning his name, and we were carried to almost every house in the station; until at last we met a European, who told the men it was the judge sahib we wanted, and then they soon found the place. I am called Padre Sahib; Mrs. Acland is Padre Sahib ke Mem, or Padre Sahib's lady; a married woman, mem sahib; an old maid is mem; and a young lady is bibi sahib, or white lady baby.

The weather is now, comparatively speaking, delightful; the thermometer is 76° in the middle of the day, and about 66° at sunrise and early in the morning. I assure you we find it quite chilly, and are obliged to walk very fast to get warm. Our hours are now—up at six, feed the fowls, and walk till eight; bathe and dress till nine, then breakfast; write, read, and work till four, then dinner; feed the fowls and walk till half-past six; tea at seven. My wife works and I read aloud till half-past eight; backgammon or cribbage till half-past nine; then prayers, and to bed. Sometimes, however, I have to go out and see my parishioners between breakfast and dinner, and then I go in my palanquin. One great disagreeable is, the constant change of people.

The regiment that was here, of which the Major and his wife were our chief friends, has just been ordered away, and a new one is come in its place. The Captain of Engineers has just offered to take us a trip to the mountains, fifty miles off, on elephants. I do not know yet whether we shall go or not. The historical name of my parish would be, the Ooriah district, or the Oresta. Our time is six hours earlier than in England.

Midnapore, December 13, 1842.

I AM on the point of quitting this place for Cuttack. I have sold the greater part of my furniture, as it is expensive to move; the remainder is going forward on hackeries, or native carts. I want six of these carts; about a dozen of them are come, and there is now a crowd of native savages round the door, disputing as to who shall go; and they were making so much noise that I was compelled to go out and stop the cabal. I took a good thick stick in my hand, as if I were about to beat them. I called out "Choop!" (or silence) as loud as I could. I then explained that I only wanted six hackeries. Then began a vociferation as to whose were the best. "Choop!—will ye choop?" I roared again. I then called the mollee, and desired him to turn out all

the bullocks, for they had unfastened those which drew the carts, and let them all loose in the rice-ground in the compound, which was just ready for cutting. This order I hallooed out loud enough for the men to hear; and told him, as soon as he had done that, to come to me for a crowbar to break to pieces all the hackeries but six. This made them submit; and although they still continued making a great chattering, yet they soon began harnessing their bullocks. With these people we are obliged to appear very severe. They despise us as being of no caste; and were we not to be firm, they would imagine we were afraid of them.

We are now engaged in packing up our things, and shall start on the 25th, reach Balasore on the 28th, and remain there ten days, and then three days' more travelling will bring me to my head-quarters at Cuttack.

I have, with much trouble, endeavoured to persuade the people here that they ought to build a church: the Mohammedans have a splendid mosque, the Hindoos have a large temple, and yet we have no consecrated building for the worship of the true God; but, however, I hope this will be remedied. As I was passing the mosque the other day, I saw the muezzin shouting out that it was time for prayer, and stopping his ears with both hands, that he might not hear the terrible noise which he himself was making.

About a fortnight ago the judge went out shooting: he came to a large hole under the root of a tree, and heard a loud growling. He is a courageous man, so he was not afraid; but he told an Indian, who was with him, to get behind the tree, and then poke a long stick into the hole. Presently the growling became very loud and savage, and then out jumped an enormous bear, one of the most savage sort—the large black bear. The judge was ready, and shot it when it came out. On examining the hole, three young bears, only a few days old, were found. He sent for some Indians, who carried the dead body, and also the cubs, home, and then, as he knew that I was fond of animals, he sent the three little ones to me. They are very ugly, and cannot see yet. One of my goats had just had a kid, so I told

the cook to make the kid into soup, and I brought the goat to the young bears. One man held the goat, another covered her eyes with his hands, and a boy held up the cubs to suck. The goat did not like it at all at first, but now she is quite contented, almost as much so as if they were her own young ones. I have given two of them away. In England you never taste goat's milk : it is most delicious ; far better, I think, than cow's milk : we use it every day. Each goat, after the kid is taken from her, gives about three-quarters of a pint a-day. The judge has promised me a bottle full of the pure bear's grease.

Every one here knows that I am very fond of animals, and they are all very kind in sending them to me. I received the other day from a gentleman a present of a goat, which is quite as big as a small pony. If I were to get on its back my feet would not touch the ground ; it is of a dark brown, and of the long-eared Thibet kind.

December 14.

I WENT out to tea last evening, and a lady gave me two nests made of platted grass, into which the birds enter through a hole at the bottom. They are about a yard long, and they hang swinging from the branch of a tree to which they are fastened. They are built in this form, in order to keep out the violent rains, and to preserve the birds from the monkeys.

The commonest articles of dress in Calcutta are at least three times as dear as they are in England. I bought a silk hat which would have cost five shillings at home, and paid fourteen rupees for it here ; and some ribbon, which would have been threepence a-yard in England, cost a rupee and a half here. Then on the other hand many things are cheaper.

There has been no rain for two months, nor a cloud until the last day or two ; now the clouds will continue to increase for a week, and then we shall have three days of rain, after that no more till the middle of June, except about three tremendous thunderstorms in April and May. The weather is now delightful.

the thermometer varies from 60° to 80°; but I am glad of cloth clothes, and at night we have three blankets and a heavy counterpane. At this time of the year we have peas, beans, &c., and every one looks happy and cheerful, not healthy, for Europeans are all of a deadly white, and most of them exceedingly fat.

December 16.

I WAS walking in the compound yesterday, and I saw something black, shaped very much like a small lobster, except that it had a pointed tail; and as soon as I went near it it turned its tail over its head and tried to sting me. I managed to get him into a bottle, which I filled with spirits.

The mungoose is very fond of serpents; he kills and eats them with great rapidity, and then jumps into my wife's lap to ask for some milk.

Balasore, Orissa, December 30, 1842.

THE ancient house in which I live here is situated, like the rest of Balasore, on a large flat plain, extending north, south, and west, as far as I can see. The vegetation is scanty, and the trees are small. But turn towards the east and the eye is arrested by a most magnificent sight. At the distance of about seven miles rises quite abruptly from the plain a splendid range of volcanic hills, about two thousand feet in height. Judging from their appearance at this distance, they must be composed of reddish lava without any grass, but here and there a stumpy bush. I never saw anything to compare with them before. In England our hills are always rounded at the top; but here there are points and peaks and edges, as if you had been trying to cut a piece of paper in zigzag lines.

About fifteen miles beyond these great hills tower a still loftier range, lifting their deep-blue summits seven thousand feet

into the clouds, and forming a background for the nearer and better-defined range.

On Monday we start with a picnic party and tents, &c., to explore these hills. We shall probably be out on our expedition for three or four days.

After standing gazing at these magnificent hills, I walked towards what appeared to be the remains of some mud hut: it was about five feet high, and in irregular blunt points at the top. When I came down to it I tried to break off one of the long bits, but it was too strong, and was as hard as a wall. However, on the other side I found a smaller projection, which I broke off by kicking against it, and found it full of round passages perforating it in all directions, the smallest about the size of a quill, the largest as big as my wrist. This was the large white ants' hill. Immediately after I had broken a portion of it there came a rush of the inhabitants from all the passages to see what was the matter. They examined the parts broken, and then some of them ran back. Presently a number more came, some dragging forward the others until they got them quite to the edge, when a bigger ant took hold of each of these prisoners and bit him in the neck until he killed him. I suppose the prisoners were those who had been on guard at that spot, or else those who built that part, and so were punished for my fault. Soon, however, they turned and attacked me, for I found many of them on my clothes and experienced the smart of their bite.

I now walked forward, and the next thing I came to was a human skull. In this part of the country wood is scarce, and therefore, when any poor person dies, instead of burning his body, they wait till evening, and then throw it out of doors, and by the next morning the jackals and vultures have picked the bones quite clean, and the ants then destroy all the fibres, whilst the sun bleaches the bones. I have picked up several of these skulls in the last few days; they appear very different from the skull of an European, being smaller, and very much narrower from ear to ear in proportion to the length from the eye to the back of the head; the forehead also retreats much more. Presently I came to two bamboo-trees; between them on the

ground was a pair of doves, much smaller than our English ones, and of a bright reddish purple. They were walking about, whilst out of one of the bamboo-trees poked the head of a great snake, who was quietly watching them. I frightened away the doves, as I guessed the long gentleman's intentions. It is of a kind which does not hurt men, of a dirty-brown colour, about seven feet long.

Turning towards the house again, I was struck by the very beautiful plumage of a bird ; its wings were striped transversely with black and white ; it was about the size of a blackbird, with yellow neck and tail, and a very long head. It alighted on the ground and opened a most beautiful round crest growing fore and aft on its head, the colour of which, like the body, was an orange yellow, but there was an edging of white and black. It was the hoopoe. The only other striking thing I saw was a great vulture, with its naked red head and its tattered-looking feathers, puffing away at the top of our house, having most likely stuffed with human flesh till he could hardly move ; and when I threw a stone at him, he hopped a little way along the roof and grunted.

January 2, 1843.

YESTERDAY was New Year's day. I have just heard the origin of these hills, and will put it down while I remember it. The story is from one of the natives here.

"Many, many years ago there lived a giant in Ceylon, and this giant fell in love with the daughter of another giant at Lucknow, in Bengal, so he asked her father to let him marry her. But he said No, as the other lived in a little island, and was no real gentleman at all. Upon this Master Ceylon determined that, as her father said No, he would take her without leave, and off he started, seized the young lady, put her on his shoulders, and carried her across to Ceylon. But when the papa found that his daughter was gone, he got into a tremendous rage, and determined to go and punish the Ceyloney. So off he hur-

ried, until he came to the straits which separate the island from the mainland. But when he tried to cross over, he found that he was not quite so tall as the Ceylonese gentleman by a few hundred yards, and that the water was too deep for him. So he stood still, and he scratched his head and wiped his forehead with his handkerchief, and thought and pondered what he should do to get across and punish the wicked thief. At last an idea struck him, and he trotted back all up India until he reached the Himalaya mountains, and, snatching up two of the largest of them, one in each hand, threw them into the straits, and thus made them shallow enough for him to pass over. But as he went along some of the rocks and earth slipped through his fingers, for you may suppose his hands were rather full; and the chains of hills which extend from Balasore for nearly three hundred miles are the pieces which he dropped as he went along." The tale does not inform us whether the giant's daughter was restored to him.

I have not been up the hills to-day, because some of the party were frightened at the number of bears and tigers which are said to be there; but I am in hopes we shall go in a few days. I have been looking about me a good deal lately, and have noticed one very curious thing. The ground for five or six miles from our house in one direction seems to be covered with mounds of earth and small bushes; on examining these closely, however, I find they are all the nests of white ants. The green ones are those that are deserted, and over which the grass has grown—the others are still inhabited. In the plain visible from my window there must be many hundreds of thousands of these hills, varying in height from three feet to ten or twelve, and many of them six feet in diameter; and all of these are formed by little insects no larger than the common English ant. One part of their manner of building is most extraordinary: their nests are always completely covered in, so that without kicking them you cannot see a single ant inside; there are one or two doors in different parts of the building, but they are seldom used.

Their mode of building is as follows:—One day, perhaps, you

will perceive a single pinnacle of an ants' nest. You go and see it one day, and you find it slightly raised, but curved, like a headstone. So it increases daily until it reaches the size I have described. It is like a man building a house—as if he made a little closet with a roof on it, and then went inside and stayed there, while the closet swelled and swelled until it became a perfect house. At the foot of these ant-hills are a number of large black ants on the watch for any straggling white ants, which they kill and eat. These creatures abound in all our houses, and run about the floors: they are about an inch in length, and bite, but do not sting.

January 3,

I OUGHT to give you some account of our voyage to this place. We quitted Midnapore, after a hard week's packing, at nine o'clock on Tuesday evening, December 27th. On the Monday we went to dine and sleep at the house of the Captain of Engineers, because our own was in such a condition from packing; and after dinner on Tuesday at nine o'clock we entered our horrible palanquin. I flatter myself that most of the people at Midnapore were very sorry when we left. We had sixteen men to carry us, two mussalchees, or men who carry mussals (torches made of long strips of cotton bound tightly together and dipped in oil), and two banghy-bearers, to carry each two tin boxes with our clothes in them.

We soon got clear of the station of Midnapore, and then the scene became most wild and romantic—a narrow road, bounded on each side by an interminable jungle, or plain covered with low bushes so thickly matted together as to afford only passage to the deadly cobra, the snarling jackal, and the ravenous tiger. On the road our own palanquins, one a hundred yards in front of the other, carried by black men with merely a cloth round their loins, the red glaring torches showing the others who ran swiftly by their side, the banghy-bearers trying to keep up with us, and all keeping up a loud monotonous sing-song tune, which

was varied occasionally by the shrill cry of the jackal, the grinning snarl of the hyæna, or in the distance the deeper roar of the tiger in search of his prey—and yet in the midst of all this we both slept well, awakened only occasionally by the plashing of the men through the fords of the river or the stopping at a village to change bearers.

In the latter case we were not detained an instant, the fresh relays being in attendance with as much patience and regularity as if they were horses waiting for a coach. Thus we travelled on without interruption until we reached Danton, called Dantoon. This was about nine o'clock in the morning. At this place there is a dâk-bungalow—that is, a bungalow, or thatched house, built by Government for the accommodation of travellers. In Turkey it would be called a caravanserai. Here there is a man with fire and water, but the traveller brings his own provisions, wine, tea, bread, &c., in his palanquin, though he can generally get eggs. We stayed here about two hours, and had some tea, eggs, and biscuits, and no one who has not experienced it can have any idea of the comfort of a short rest after a night of dâk travelling. Although you lie down in the palanquin, yet every limb gets cramped, and the incessant jolting is most painful to the bones, even of one so fat as I am, and I have increased sadly in bulk since I came to India. Off we started again a little before eleven, and at about one we reached the house of an Indigo-planter at Jelasore. I never saw him before, but he received us most hospitably. His wife was rejoiced to see us—she had not seen a European lady for seventeen months, for their nearest neighbours live at a distance of forty miles, or about twelve hours' journey. Here we spent a most agreeable day, delighted with everything. In the evening I took a walk with our kind host to see an old fort.

It must have been once very strong, and was probably built by the Mahrattas as a depôt for plunder when they overran this part of the country. In the inner court is a three-domed building, resembling, except in ornament, a mosque. The walls are several feet thick, built of hard stone strongly clamped together with iron. High up in the interior of the centre dome are four

niches, which I hope to explore on some future occasion. The inner enclosure is surrounded by a strong stone wall and a deep moat now dry. Beyond this is a level space of a few yards in width, and then again, in another part of the wall, there are signs of a narrow sallyport, and opposite to this, between the trenches, as if it might have been reached by a drawbridge, is a very high mound of earth. Over the sallyport there has evidently been a strong tower, and above the central entrance into the interior building is a stone with an inscription. It appears very perfect, but no one can read it; it is neither Ooriah, Hindustanee, Sanscrit, nor Persian. I have called this a Mahratta fort, because that is the general opinion amongst Europeans. I myself doubt it, and from its age and appearance think it much more likely that it was erected by the Moguls when they first invaded the country; how I wished, as I stood there, that I could have seen it as it was in former ages, with its garrison, and its horse-men, and its despotic governor. The next time I go I shall provide myself with some paper covered with charcoal, and try to take an impression of the inscription. We were in some fear, during our examination, lest we should be interrupted by the natives, as they have very recently got the idea that it was once inhabited by one of their gods, and therefore consider it a sacred place. I fancied, as well as the darkness would allow me to see, that far back in one of the niches I could dimly perceive a coloured statue of a female. Before we went to see this ruin my kind host took me into his garden to show me the India-rubber tree. We scraped the bark with a piece of rough glass, and a white sticky juice oozed out; this we took between our fingers and squeezed until it became a sort of brown gluey substance. In this state it is used by the native hunters as birdlime. After being exposed to the air for some time it gradually hardens and becomes what we call India-rubber. A large part of this garden was planted with arrow-root.

At half-past eight we again entered the palanquin, and started for Balasore, where we arrived at half-past seven the next morning, and were set down at the Circuit-house—a large house belonging to Government, and kept for the convenience of officers,

including the chaplain, who have to travel the district every year. I can conceive nothing more wild than the dâk travelling; but I have described it all, except that in each palanquin we carry a brace of loaded pistols. I will relate an instance, and a very remarkable one, of the advantage of carrying loaded pistols in this country. Major M., now the second in command at Midnapore, was one day out with some friends, sitting quietly under the shade of a bank, when suddenly a tiger sprang out of a jungle, seized the Major by the leg, threw him over his shoulders, and trotted off with him. The Major's companions raised a loud shout; but the beast was hungry, and did not choose to be frightened from his meal. The Major, however, fortunately had a brace of loaded pistols in his belt; he pulled out one, and fired it at the head of the tiger as it carried him off. It flashed in the pan; and almost in despair he seized the other, and shot the tiger dead on the spot. The only injury the Major received was a broken and lacerated leg, which has rendered him in some measure a cripple ever since. This story I know to be true, both from the Major himself and from those who were with him.

A small party went out for a day's pleasure a little while ago from Midnapore. They went to the Ghape, a most beautiful spot at about five miles' distance. After rambling about they went into an old house which is there, with an excellent appetite for dinner. The "cook-room" was about a hundred yards from the house. They waited and waited, and no dinner came; so at last one of the gentlemen went to see the cause of the delay, when lo! as if watching for the dinner, there was an enormous black bear sitting half-way between the house and the cook-room. They shouted, and tried to drive him away; but no, master Bruin only growled; he did not see why he should not have something to eat. None of the party had guns; and they say that they were kept waiting five hours without their dinner before the beast's patience was exhausted and he stalked off. We were, as I before said, set down at the "Circuit-house." This I expected to have found tolerably furnished; but, alas! when we went in, we found nothing but one mat, three tables, and

two chairs. We then had the palanquins taken into a bed-room, and determined to make ourselves as comfortable as we could. I then went out to make calls—for in India the new comers call upon the old residents, reversing the English custom. This did not take me long, as the whole station consists of the magistrate and his wife, the excise-officer and his daughter, the postmaster, doctor, and deputy-magistrate.

At night we slept as well as we could in the palanquins, but were kept awake the greater part of the time by the mosquitoes, and the next morning our hands and faces were most beautifully spotted over with their bites. On this the second day one or two people called; and when the excise-officer and his daughter came in, the deficiency in furniture was at once made manifest. There were Mr. and Miss B., Mrs. Acland, and I, with only two chairs amongst us, and these, like all the chairs in India, were arm-chairs, so that we could not even manage by sitting two on one chair; so Miss B. and my wife had the two chairs, and Mr. B. and I sat upon the table—rather a high one it was—so that our feet dangled about half-way between our seat and the floor. However, there was one great advantage in this evidence of poverty, for Mr. B., as soon as he got home, sent us a large bedstead, some chairs, and other things necessary to make us comfortable.

I ought to mention the chant of the palanquin-bearers; though they keep to the same sing-song tune, yet they generally invent the words as they go along. I will give a sample, as well as I could make it out, of what my bearers sang the other night; I have tried to render their words as nearly as I could into English, so as to preserve the metre. The poetry must be improved. A palkee means a palanquin: it is the Hindustanee word, though one also generally used in conversation. Each line is sung in a different voice; in the following, for instance, the first line would be sung in the usual voice, the second very high, the third in a sort of gruff tone:—

“Oh, what a heavy bag!
No; it's an elephant:
He is an awful weight.

Let's throw his palkee down—
 Let's set him in the mud—
 Let's leave him to his fate.
 No, for he'll be angry then;
 Ay, and he will beat us then
 With a thick stick.
 Then let's make haste and get along,
 Jump along quick."

And then, suiting the action to the word, off they set in a nasty jog-trot which rattled every bone in my body, keeping chorus all the time of "jump along quick, jump along quick," until they were obliged to stop for laughing. The second sample is from the men who carried Mrs. Acland, and is in quite a different metre. I must tell you that "cubbadar" means "take care," and "baba" (pronounced "barba") means "young lady:"—

1.	2.	3.
"She's not heavy,	Trim the torches,	Carry her gently,
Cubbadar!	Cubbadar!	Cubbadar!
Little baba,	For the road's rough,	Little baba,
Cubbadar!	Cubbadar!	Cubbadar!
Carry her swiftly,	Here the bridge is,	Sing so cheerily,
Cubbadar!	Cubbadar!	Cubbadar!
Pretty baba,	Pass it swiftly,	Pretty baba,
Cubbadar!	Cubbadar!	Cubbadar!
Cubbadar!	Cubbadar!	Cubbadar!
Cubbadar!	Cubbadar!	Cubbadar!"

At this place very little wood is to be found—not enough for the people to use for their fires during what is called the cold weather. The women accordingly go out, and instead of gathering wood they pick up cow-dung. This they knead into flat round cakes about the size of pancakes, dry them in the sun, and they burn almost as well as the turf or peat which is used in England, though it is a great nuisance, for the thick smoke it emits has a very unpleasant smell.

The other day we saw a most beautiful sight on the nearer hills. Some of the jungle (or wild) men had set fire to the grass and bushes on the side. The fire spread, shooting rapidly from

one part to another, and as it was late in the evening it produced a most magnificent scene. The object in doing this was to get rid of the snakes, bears, and tigers, in order that the people might go and cut down the few large trees that grew on the hill.

Last night, as my wife and I were having a game of casino, we heard a low growl in the compound, and directly afterwards a screaming amongst the fowls, and a hallooing of the servants (we carry fowls wherever we go, or we should be almost starved); the only words I could distinguish were "Bargh! bargh!" A tiger! a tiger! I jumped up; but on examination it proved to be a false alarm. It was only a large wild animal, something resembling our fox, only with shorter legs and longer body, which had attacked the fowls; and I had not so much presence of mind as the Major I told you of, for when I ran out into the compound to see what was the matter I quite forgot to take my pistols, so the thief got safely off; but I have now secured my fowls more effectually.

Just before we left Midnapore, a large flock of birds, flying in regular order, amounting, I should think, to several thousands, passed over the place. They made a great noise, and I thought they were wild geese; but I hear they were a bird called the cyris, which stands about five feet high, and is not a water-bird.

I was much amused this afternoon whilst I was sitting in the verandah with watching the crows. I think I have described them to you. They are very like the carrion-crow in England, but rather smaller. There is a law which imposes a heavy fine upon any one who kills them; this is very right, for they carry away a quantity of refuse and filth which would otherwise putrefy and cause disease; but the consequence is, that they are more numerous and more impudent than the sparrows in England. I threw out the bones of a fowl we had had for dinner; presently about fifty crows came down within a few feet of me, and began to peck away; every now and then a bird, which people here call a kite, would swoop down, and send all the crows cawing away. As soon as it rose, down came

the crows again ; presently one of them flew away with a large bone in his beak ; the kite saw it, and was off in pursuit. Backwards and forwards, up and down the poor crow dodged, but its pursuer followed it, and had nearly reached it, when the pursued thought it best to drop the bone. The sharp eye of the kite perceived this, and, although he was some distance above at the time, yet he made a dart down and caught the bone in his mouth before it had reached the ground. I have lately seen some kites like the others in all respects, except that the body and head are white, the wings being still brown ; these are rather larger than the others.

Every sort of filth here is thrown out into the fields, and in a very few hours the jackals and crows clear it away, assisted by the pariah dogs. These are the only scavengers in the country.

The rain began on the 24th of December, and we had occasional showers for two days ; but every one is disappointed by the season. Instead of having nice cool weather in January, the hot weather has completely set in, although it does not in general begin before the middle of February. The thermometer in the shade is at this moment above 80°, although this is considered a cool place.

For my dinner yesterday I had some peacock-cutlets, which the surgeon of the station had sent me.

Cuttack, February 2, 1843.

I MUST return now, and give you some account of how we started for this place from Balasore. On Sunday the 8th of January we had service in the morning ; and at four in the afternoon we entered our palkees to proceed to Cuttack, a distance of 103 miles.

Throughout the journey not a single European is to be met with, but the traveller is entirely in the power of the natives, excepting such assistance as he can derive from his pistols and a thick stick. The danger however is not great. The Ooriahs, as well as the Bengalese, are a small and cowardly race ; so

much so, indeed, that the East India Company will not allow them to be enlisted as soldiers. A Bengalee of five feet six is quite a tall man, and in shape he is as delicate and effeminate as a European lady.

We jogged on most merrily until about half-past five the next morning, when I was awakened by hearing "Sahib, Sahib;" to which I sleepily answered by inquiring what my servant wanted. He told me we were arrived at Barripore, about fifty miles from Balasore, and they wanted to know whether I meant to go to the dâk-bungalow. I said Yes: for we had determined to remain at Barripore all day, as it is not safe to travel in the sun even in January. To the bungalow we accordingly went; where we eat, drank, and read books which we had brought with us, and amused ourselves as well as we could, until four in the afternoon, when off we started again. I only remember one adventure which happened there. My wife wanted to wash her hands, and took up a "gomlah" to pour out some water; suddenly she cried out that she was stung. I ran to see what it was, and, examining the gomlah, found she had been bitten by a hornet. In comparison with other insects the sting of this creature is an object of very little dread. Her hand, however, swelled a little, and for three or four hours she suffered a good deal of pain all up her arm, but still it was fortunately only a hornet. At four o'clock in the afternoon we again started, and arrived at our own house in Cuttack at about eight the next morning.

It is customary at the end of each stage to make the palkees a present of four annas (or sixpence) for each palkee. During one of the stages between Barripore and Cuttack the men did not go so quickly as I thought they should have done; so when we changed men I only gave them four annas for the two palkees, telling them why I did so. The consequence was, that during the next stage the men not only went much faster, but invented a new song, the whole burthen of which was, "He has only given them four annas because they went so slowly! Let us make haste and go along quickly, and then we shall get eight annas and have a good supper."

My house here belongs to Government, and I am in great hope they will allow me to occupy it free of rent ; it is the best in the cantonment, the compound contains about twenty acres, and there are in it several beautiful clumps of trees. In front of the house is a fine group of cedars ; in one part is a hill, on the top of which are several trees : I do not yet know their names, but their foliage is of a bright green, more bright than any ever seen in England. We have an orchard containing mangoes, custard-apples, waunpearls, mulberries, guavas, &c. &c., with one chur-tree—that is, the true India-rubber tree, and, I believe, the only one in this part of India ; that at Jelasore is a very inferior sort.

We have a grand house in the compound, and have, besides, a flower-garden with orange and lemon trees, &c. A river three miles broad flows near, and a ghaut, or landing-place, for pilgrims proceeding to Juggernat'h, a Hindu holy temple. We can see in the distance a range of hills, rising abruptly from the other side of the river, which are a continuation of those at Balasore. On the sands are storks, wild-geese, and all sorts of aquatic birds ; even all the tanks here abound with alligators. The other day one of the officers was returning home from mess ; it was dark, and in his compound he fell over something which proved to be a large alligator, making its way from the river to a tank, probably with a view of there depositing her eggs. About three weeks ago a poor woman went to fetch water from one of these places, on the surface of which were weeds ; she was engaged in clearing a space with her hands, when one of these animals, with its jaws open, caught her arm and stripped off all the flesh below the elbow. She was compelled to have her arm amputated.

I saw to-day a large hyæna gliding across the compound. I suppose he smelt some dead body on the beach. The Juggernat'h pilgrims come from very great distances, and many die on the road. In my compound alone, if I were to collect the skulls, bones, &c., I think I could make up eight or ten human skeletons. The other evening one of my servants came to me, and said, " If you please, sir, there is a dead pilgrim in the

compound, and the matee wants to know if he shall throw it away ;"—that is, throw it down on the bank for the jackals, &c. I would not let him do this, but sent notice to the commanding officer, who sent for the body, and, I suppose, threw it away. About two hours after this my wife was gone to bed, and I was sitting reading, when I felt something on my foot ; I examined, and in my stocking found a large centipede. I contrived to kill him without being stung.

The Government allow me a guard of soldiers ; and a sentry, with musket and bayonet, parades up and down the front verandah ; they also allow three servants for the use of the church. The soldiers present arms to me and salute ; and when any one comes at night, they call out, "Hookum dar ?" to which the answer is "Exprin : " these phrases are corruptions of the English. The church is very nicely fitted up ; there is a door leading into it from my study, which serves on Sundays as a vestry. The greatest inconvenience here—as in all the churches in India—consists in the punkahs. Over the pulpit, altar, and reading-desk are three small punkahs, and over the body of the building three very large ones, extending over the whole breadth. These are kept constantly in motion, and they sadly intercept the voice of whoever is preaching. The house, being a bungalow, has, of course, only the ground-floor ; the roof is a thick thatch, extending over the verandahs, which in England would be called porticoes, and these are supported on thick white columns. The ceilings in a bungalow are nothing but large sheets of canvass whitewashed. As in India people are glad to keep all the doors within the house open, there is placed between the different rooms a framework covered with crimson or green silk, which the natives call a half-door. The beds are nine or ten feet wide, with short posts, on which you may hang mosquito-curtains, which are a sort of large sacks made of gauze, without any opening. They are supported on the posts and tucked in closely all round, so as to prevent the mosquitoes from stinging the people in bed ; the only covering, generally, is a sheet, and the gentleman's sleeping-dress is a flannel jacket and a pair of calico drawers with feet to them, to keep off the mos-

quitoes if they should by chance get inside the curtains. Some people also throw a gauze over the face for the same purpose. There are no feather-beds, but the mattresses are generally stuffed with the fibres from the outside rind of the cocoa-nut, called "coir." The usual plan is to leave the glass doors (French windows you would call them) all open, but to shut the Venetian blinds, and to have a punkah over your head going all night. At about six in the morning all the glass doors are closed, and kept shut all day to exclude the hot air. If, however, there should be any wind, one of them is opened and a tattie hung up in its place; the tattie is a thick mat the size of the doorway, made of the sweet-scented cuscus-grass; this is kept constantly wetted on the outside.

From the 1st to the 11th of February is the Mohammedan festival of the Mohurrun, which is a grand scene. Every night drums beat, and dancing and merrymaking are kept up among the men only, as the Mohammedan women are kept in seclusion. In the compound the other day I saw about a dozen men, one of them thumping away on the horrible native drum called a "tomtom." Two others held by heavy chains a tall sepoy (this word means a native soldier, and ought to be spelt "sepahi"), who was covered all over with a dress of calico, fitting tight to the skin—so much so that at first I thought he was naked. The calico was painted in alternate stripes of red and yellow, and he had two little yellow horns. I imagine it must have been intended to represent the devil conquered and chained by Mohammed. He made a number of antics, and ended, as all these people do, in begging for a few pice; I gave him three annas. The station of Cuttack is situated on a small island formed by the confluence of two rivers; during the hot weather this island becomes a peninsula joined to the main land by a narrow neck of sand. The advantage of this insular position is that, whilst we abound in alligators, we are free from bears and tigers, neither have we so many pariah-dogs as there were about Midnapore. The opposite bank swarms with tigers, and with a small telescope we can sometimes see them coming down to drink by moonlight. On the opposite bank, all round the island, except to

the south, rise the rugged hills which dropped from Vishna's fingers. There is one great comfort here: the sea is about fifty miles from us, in a straight line towards the south, and every evening, at about five o'clock, a deliciously cool sea-breeze sets in from that direction. About seven it becomes quite gusty, and continues to blow until about one in the morning. It is necessary to have lived in such a climate as this to know how truly luxurious such evenings are after the intense heat of the day, which is now rapidly increasing; the thermometer in the shade is about 82° or 84°, and this is only the beginning of February.

A walk round the compound early in the morning is quite delightful. On each tree are three or four of the beautiful little striped squirrels, whilst in the branches are many paroquets, parrots, &c. All about on the ground are numbers of a bird of a bright green, with a red breast and head, about the size of a love-bird, and very much like it, except that the beak is straight and rather long, and from the centre of the tail project two long straight feathers of a reddish green. There is also the beautiful mango-bird with its bright yellow plumage and its glossy black head. Occasionally may be seen an alligator lying asleep, with his head and shoulders on the bank and the rest of his body in the water, while a lung-bird has just alighted on his head and twitters to its mate by the side of the tank. They are about the size of the amadavad, but shaped like the swallow, and their plumage is alternately a glossy black or a deep crimson, according as the sun shines on it. Then there is the India-rubber tree, and skulls bleached in the sun. I saw one with its little teeth in the front that had not yet pierced the gums: they are the second teeth, and the skull, which is very small, must have belonged to a mere child. The house belongs to Government, and there are therefore three wells in the compound; but the water is not good. The plan for watering this large orchard and garden is as follows:—From the edge of the wall to the cistern is a wooden trough, into which the water is thrown as it is drawn from the well. By this means the cistern is filled. A brick gutter runs from the cistern and separates it into so many

branches; round each bed and every here and there are little openings which let the water run out on the bed. Suppose they only want to water one, they just take up a little earth in a spade and stop up the other branches of the gutter. Whenever it crosses a path, it is carried underneath by means of a small drain. The muller takes two long bamboos, having at one end a heavy weight and at the other a large gomlah suspended by a cord. One muller pulls one cord downward to make the gomlah reach the water, the other fills the gomlah, and, letting go the cord at the other end of the bamboo, draws it up. This work proceeds with great rapidity, and so the cistern gets filled and the garden watered. At a very short distance from our garden stand the remains of a fort. When the English took Cuttack this fort was garrisoned by the Mahrattas. They, however, soon gave it up. The angles of the bastion were rectangles, which prevents it being so strong as if they had been obtuse angles, for then the balls would have had a tendency to glance off; but its great strength consists in the ditch, which is about a hundred or a hundred and fifty yards wide, with the perpendicular side faced with bricks, full of water and swarming with alligators. The water is most foul and offensive, but the medical men say that, if they were to empty and drain it, it would make for many months a most fearful pestilence. The natives have offered us 30,000*l.* to be allowed to drain it, because they say there is a vast quantity of treasure in it.

I have just learned the origin of the Mohurrun. It is a festival, or rather commemoration of the death of Hussein and Houssein, the sons of Ali, Mohammed's nephew. These two were pursued towards the desert by their enemies; they took shelter in a well, and a spider immediately wove a web across the top. Their enemies came up, and, seeing the web, thought that Houssein and Hussein could not be in the well. However, one of them looking down observed a number of lizards all hastening up the sides, so then they thought there must be some one at the bottom who frightened the lizards, and, searching, they got up the two brothers and killed them. It is to commemorate this fact that they have instituted the festival of the Mohurrun, and in

consequence the Mohammedans all reverence the spider, while they kill the lizard.

The fort here is of great extent, comprising, I should think, at least 100 acres. The walls have been demolished, and a great portion of the interior is now occupied by a botanical garden and a racket-court.

The winds have risen to-day with tumultuous fury, as though they had been long confined and in one fearful moment had burst their prison-house. There is something very grand, though awful, in these furious tempest-bursts within the tropics. A few minutes back not a leaf rustled; now the trees are waving to and fro, small branches are whirled into the air, and leaves and rubbish are carried far away by the revolving eddies of almost a hurricane. I could scarcely see the river through the volumes of sand which are tossing about mixed with the spray.

Monday, February 13, 1843.

I AM going to cross the river into the jungle in a day or two, with two other gentlemen. Our object is to plan a new village for some native Christians. We each take a gun and a brace of pistols, and have no doubt that we shall bring home some venison. We shall also look out as we go along for two tigers, which have recently committed terrible depredations about Condah, whither we are going. The other day they carried off two men.

Gold-dust is mixed with the sand of the river, but the quantity is very small, and is therefore not considered worth the trouble and expense of collecting.

Cuttack, March 4, 1843.

ONE of my servants came to me this morning, and told me that there was a boa-constrictor in the garden. I immediately desired all the men to take long bamboos, and we sallied forth

to attack the monster. By the time we got to the place, however, he had retreated into his hole in the ground; we had therefore to dig him out, and as soon as he appeared all the men struck him with their bamboos until they killed him. It proved not to be a boa, but a yellow snake about seven feet long, and was not venomous. We killed it, however, lest it might endanger the poultry-yard.

On Wednesday the 15th of February we started on our trip—myself and Mr. L., a missionary: Captain W. was not able to accompany us on account of the parade, but was to join us in the evening. On Tuesday afternoon we got our guns in readiness, and sent off some camp furniture, viz. a bedstead, table, &c., which fold up so as to be easily portable. My bed, food, clothes, &c., were carried by two men, each of whom was to receive two annas, that is three pence, a-day. Chogga, and not Condah, is the name of the place to which we were going, and it would be impossible to obtain anything there to eat except what we shot ourselves.

At four o'clock on Wednesday morning Mr. L. came to my house, and we took some coffee, eggs, and toast, and then set off, my companion on a tall white horse and I on a little native pony, both of us dressed entirely in white. I had with me a bearer, a kitmajar, and a syce. Mr. L. had also a bearer, a cooly, and a syce, with several coolies carrying provisions. The syces were only to accompany us as far as the river, and then take the horses back; the others carried our guns, pistols, powder, hunting knives, which are very necessary both to kill everything that is wounded, and also to defend ourselves if thrown down by an elk, tiger, &c. It was necessary that we should cross the river about ten miles from my house, so off we trotted followed by our train. Everything was perfectly still, the moon just setting, and a cold damp fog hanging over the whole island. For the first half-mile we got along very well. We had then to turn into the bed of the river, now dwindled to a narrow stream. Our course lay over a deep bed of loose sand something like that at Weston-super-Mare, only much worse, our horses' feet sinking at every step five or six inches; the poor animals could not

move quicker than a trot. As the moon set, and the fog closed around us, the scene became one of utter desolation: the narrow pathway, if you can call it a pathway, winding so as to avoid the deeper sands and quicksands, did not permit us riding two abreast. Far ahead, magnified by the mist, I could just see the tall figure of Mr. L. and his white steed; behind I could hear a low chattering, and now and then one of the black servants would emerge from the fog and then vanish again as suddenly as he had appeared. From time to time arose a shrill cry from some one who had wandered from the path, answered as shrilly by the other men. As the fog thickened everything disappeared. The path was barely discernible, and I almost wished myself at home. However I trusted to the sagacity of my sure-footed little pony, and he carried me safely over the sand-hills and through the hollows for about three-quarters of an hour, when I heard a shout in front, announcing that Mr. L. had reached the water. I soon came up with him. We waited till our servants joined us, then dismounted, gave our horses to the syces with orders to be at the same place at six o'clock on Thursday evening, and embarked in a large boat, which, to render it watertight, or rather to keep it afloat, was filled up to the seat with bushes and brambles trodden into a compact mass.

The boatmen told us that two nights before, as three carts were going along the path to Chogga, a tiger had sprung out and carried off the man in the centre cart, and that a few days earlier two men had been carried away from the village itself. The other side of the river is a steep bank without sand, and by the time we reached it the day was just breaking, of which, to tell the truth, I was by no means sorry.

On the bank we found the coolies whom we had sent forward the evening before, and who had waited there for us, being afraid to proceed through the jungle until they had the protection of the sahibs. There we took our guns, &c., into our own hands, girded on our belts, in which were thrust our long hunting knives or daggers and our pistols, letting our servants carry our powder-flasks, shot-belts, &c. This is done in order to be able to load with greater rapidity, the servant holding the shot,

wad, cap, &c., in readiness. He also carries a heavy ramrod with a round knob at the top, as the drawing the ramrod from the gun, returning it, and hammering away with it at the powder, which you must do on account of its lightness, might frequently cause delay that might be fatal. Most people, for the sake of safety, use double-barrelled guns; mine was, however, only single, but the barrel was long enough for two.

At last off we started along the regular path to Chogga. The change was most extraordinary; the fog had already cleared away; we were walking along a narrow winding path cut through the jungle. On each side of us extended as far as the eye could reach a vast plain covered with laurels and shrubs of a bright green, interspersed here and there with large flowers of a brilliant crimson or scarlet, and more rarely with trees of a stunted growth, on which numbers of little tiny doves were cooing their greeting to the sun. The bushes, which we call low jungle, grow to four or five feet in height, and so thickly that it is impossible to pass through them, except where a path has been cut, or where a natural glade or opening occurs. We walked on looking out anxiously for some opening, as we knew we should find nothing worth firing at in the open plain. Suddenly, on turning an angle in the path, we saw at the distance of about a quarter of a mile on the right a clear space with a few large trees in it. Amid the branches sat fifteen or twenty pea-fowl, and on the open glade were as many more feeding. Shortly afterwards we came to a smaller one, which enabled us to separate, so that we might approach the pea-fowl in different directions; however we could not get within shot, which we much regretted.

But I own I was not quite so eager in pushing through the jungle as I should have been the next day; it was quite novel to me, and I could not help thinking every now and then of the dreaded cobra or the scarcely less dreaded tiger. Indeed, of the last I had a fearful reminder before I rejoined Mr. L.

In a small space of clear ground I came suddenly upon the skeleton of a man, evidently lately killed, for much of the flesh was still adhering to the bones. Probably it was the poor driver of whom we had heard. I had quite lost sight of Mr.

L., but presently heard him shout from some distance behind me. I made my way towards him, and soon reached a small paddy-field (rice-field). Here was a small bull of a very dark colour, who did not seem at all pleased with our intrusion: he looked at us for a minute, and then came galloping towards us, shaking his head and tail in his anger. My two servants called out that it was a wild cow, and crouched down behind me. I felt a little nervous, but faced the animal, and drew a pistol from my belt; however, as he came near, I saw a small piece of cord fastened to one of his horns, and therefore knew it was not an "unner" or wild cow. I desired the men to shout, and myself did the same, running towards the animal and waving my hat. He stopped a moment hesitating, and then, as I rushed forward, he threw up his tail in the air and scampered off, very much to my relief.

Mr. L. now came up, and we proceeded on our road. Presently one of the men who was a little in advance stopped and pointed to a tree at a little distance. Mr. L. primed his gun and fired, and down dropped a fine hen. Wild hens abound in the jungles, and are excellent eating, possessing a slight flavour of game.

Soon after we came to a spot of ground where we beheld a number of quails. I fired and killed two. Again we went on, but met with no further adventure until we came to Chogga. The last mile and a half of our journey lay through paddy-fields with the stubble still on them. The heat was intense, and by the time we reached our destination I was thoroughly tired.

Chogga is a small native village surrounded by jungle, standing about seven or eight miles from the river. It does not belong to the English, but is in the territory of one of our tributary rajahs. Mr. L. has a bungalow there, if such it can be called, consisting as it does of a single room about sixteen feet square, built of mud, and thatched with rice-straw. He has made many converts here, and is about to erect a Christian village about his own bungalow, which is half a mile from Chogga itself, and well situated on a small spot of rising ground. The

appearance and manner of these wild, naked, yet Christian savages, was to me deeply interesting.

As soon as we arrived, a number of natives, both men and women, crowded about us. Many of them were Christians, though in dress they adhered to their old habits. Mr. L. at once took off everything but his trowsers, and after some hesitation I did the same. After this we had breakfast and then lay down on our camp beds and rested for two or three hours. About one I felt hungry, so went out and shot a few doves, which abound on every tree.

About half-past three we collected as many men as possible and went out to beat the jungle, through which Mr. L. and myself worked our way until we came to a small open space. There one of us posted himself; the other went on until he found another similar spot, where he also stationed himself. As soon as the shikarree who was with us saw where we were ready, he stole out of the jungle and placed the twenty-five men in a large semicircle, our positions being the centre, and the radius about half a mile. As soon as they were all stationed, at a signal they began to roar and groan and make the most frightful noises, beating the bushes with their long bamboos, and pushing through the jungle towards the open space where we were placed. This was in a high jungle, and really the scene on such an occasion is most exciting. You stand on a small space of fifteen or twenty yards in diameter, bounded on every side by lofty trees and thick underwood, your gun in your hand, your man behind you holding the next charge in readiness. In every quarter the shrieks and yells of the beaters are heard; presently there is a whirr in the air, and a peacock flies through the open space above your head. Bang goes the gun, off runs one of the men to pick up the bird; load again! quick! hark! What a rush in the bushes! There it comes! An elk or stag, shot but not killed; and a man rushes out and cuts the animal's throat.

An alarm of "Tiger!" was now given, but it proved false, as nothing but a wild cat darted over the glade. Shouts again rend the air, and a magnificent red peacock, with a deep green

tail and neck of gold, flies over our heads, his long tail streaming behind him, and the brown hen at his side. The opening above our heads was small, and an immediate fire was necessary: I fired and missed him. The beaters now approached nearer and nearer, shouting, and their dark forms soon became visible gliding one by one out of the jungle. Nothing more was to be found there; we accordingly moved on, and presently were beckoned to by the shikarree. He pressed his finger to his lips and whispered "Choop! choop!" and, pointing down a narrow opening in the jungle, showed us a large leopard, beautifully spotted, lying apparently asleep. While loading our guns the animal awoke, and was stealing off just as we fired and hit him, though he contrived to crawl off. The next day, however, we found the body, as the arrow was poisoned. The skin is valuable. The shikarree, who proudly bore off the body, would suffer no one to assist him; but that same man would not carry home the merest trifle from the bazaar, but must be followed by a coolie.

Captain W. soon met us, and we returned home to dinner, after which we sallied out by moonlight to seek some deer, but were unsuccessful.

The next morning, rising at four, after a cup of coffee we sallied into the jungle again, but obtained nothing but a few fowls. Captain W. now left us on his return home, and after breakfast a number of native Christians assembled, as this was the morning appointed for talking to them. They all squatted down on the floor, the men on one side and the women on the other. Mr. L., who is thoroughly conversant with the Oorial language, now entered into conversation with them, asking them questions and hearing all they had to say. They appear to have a very good knowledge of true religion, and to be very earnest and sincere. It was most interesting to see them all sitting so quietly with their eyes fixed on Mr. L.'s face, never attempting to interrupt either him or one another, but speaking one at a time in a low reverent tone of voice. When asked a question they would pause a moment or two in deep thought before they answered. After a little time one or two inquirers came in,

that is, men who are not yet converted, but are inquiring about Christianity, or arguing concerning it and comparing it with their own religion. These sat down and behaved themselves in the same decorous manner as the actual Christians. Mr. L. very judiciously encouraged the converts to argue with the inquirers, and it was most pleasing to observe the perfect mildness and the restrained gestures of both parties when talking on so holy a subject, every eye fixed upon the two disputants, and when a pause occurred some other convert gently putting in a word in support of the holy truth.

Inquirer. "You say God gave you the Bible, I say God gave us the Shasters. The religion that is good for the white man is not good for the black. God is good, and has given us each a religion proper to ourselves. I say your religion is good and comes from God; why will you not say the same of our Shasters?"

Convert. "God gave white men the Bible because he is very good, and he told them to go and teach it to every one, because he wishes every one to be good and happy, and to go to the happy country of heaven when they die; but the Shasters do not come from God."

I. "How do you know that?"

C. "Listen, brother. Brummah (God) is good, is he not?"

I. "Yes."

C. "Should not you like to go to Brummah?"

I. "Yes."

C. "Do not the Shasters of your religion teach you so?"

I. "Ha! you are very sly. No; but our religion is good for us now. By and bye Vishnoo will come again, and then he will perhaps give us a Bible."

C. "Why not take the Christian Bible and Christian Brummah now?"

I. "Then I should lose my caste, my wife will leave me, my children will go away, my brother will not smoke with me, my hut will be empty, and the Brahmins will curse me."

C. "If the Brahmins curse you, God is stronger than they

are, and he will bless you ; if your wife and children run away, Jesus will make you happy in heaven ; if your brother will not smoke with you, the great God will give you his peace."

I. " Well, I will see. Lend me the book ; I will read it and show it to the Brahmins. How soon shall you be here again, sahib ?"

Mr. L. " In about ten days."

I. " Good : I will see you again."

This is a mere epitome of the conversation, but may furnish some idea of the mode of argument pursued. Whenever the convert brought forward a good argument, or came to a convincing point, it was curious to see the countenance of the Christians. They had been watching their champion with the greatest interest, looking more like dark statues than human beings, so perfectly still did they sit, except when a mother pressed her infant to her bosom to keep it quiet. Suddenly, as they saw the drift of what was said more clearly, their white eyes would dance amid their dark skins, and one or two of them would smile and utter gently the emphatic word " Ha ! " (yes).

A nice-looking young woman brought her baby to show it. It was only two months old, and had not yet been baptized. Poor woman ! I won her heart completely by taking it from her and kissing it. Mr. L. seemed a little surprised at my doing so, but both the mother and her husband were delighted. She asked me to name her child. Mr. L. wished it to be a scriptural name. I accordingly gave it the first that came into my head, which was " Benjamin." It was interesting to watch the mother's face as I named the child, she had apparently never heard the name before, and there was much amusement amongst them, all trying to pronounce it ; they could not quite manage it, but, as the mother carried the little one out, several of the men patted its cheek and smiled, and said very slowly Bend-za-min. There were to have been four adults baptized on this day, but one of them came in the morning and said that his wife declared she would not live with a Christian, that she had taken her children and all his fortune, consisting of one rupee

and two pice, and had gone away to her brother's house. Mr. L. advised the man to go and reason with her, which he did, and we afterwards heard that she had returned with him on condition that he would not become a Christian.

The people have literally given up father, mother, wife, children, friends, and home as soon as they become followers of Jesus. They are looked upon as utterly degraded; and the tribe to which they belong has to pay a sum of money to the Brahmins before they can be freed from the stain which attaches to them in consequence of the pollution.

Mr. L. preached in the afternoon, and in the evening the Christians again met, when he addressed them a discourse in the midst of a tremendous thunderstorm.

When we rose the next morning at four o'clock we found that the rain had been so heavy during the night that we could get no fuel to make a fire: our provisions, having been neglected, were all spoiled by the rain, excepting a small piece of thick pie-crust; our beer we had exhausted the evening before; so after a scanty meal we started on our way home. We shot a peacock and fowl upon the road along with three snipes, and arrived at Cuttack about half-past eight on Friday morning.

I have just witnessed a magnificent sight; during the last month we have had such weather as the oldest inhabitant cannot recollect ever to have seen before at this time of the year. It is generally in February and March very hot and very dry. For the last month we have had almost incessant rain, with violent thunderstorms. The days are comparatively cool, and at night I am glad of two blankets. Rumours of an approaching famine began to float abroad, but at length the mystery was solved. About half-past six I thought I observed a curiously shaped long cloud, and as the sun went down and the twilight deepened it did not alter its appearance, but at about a quarter to seven proved to be a magnificent comet. The nucleus was plainly visible even with the naked eye, and equal in brightness to a small star. The tail was at least 45° in length, and inclined from W.S.W. to E.S.E. Had it been perpendicular it would have reached from the horizon half way up over our heads, the

whole distance from the horizon to the zenith being 90° . The breadth of the extremity of the tail was about $2\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$, and the posterior half was divided longitudinally by a dark line. The colour was that of a pale moonlight, but it would no doubt have appeared much more red if the moon had not been shining brightly at the time. There has been no comet equal to this in brilliancy and the length of the tail since the year 1759. I have hardly any books to refer to, but my idea is, that it is the same comet which appeared in 1264 and 1556, and was expected back in 1848. If so, its period of revolution is nearly 300 years. Its light was intense, being almost equal to the moon in brilliancy. The natives say it will burn the earth; they call it "jherra tarn," or "burnt star."

The weather is most remarkable. We have incessant rain, with thunder and lightning every evening, and the clouds are too heavy to allow us to see the comet. The houses require fresh thatching every year. The lightning we have here I have never seen equalled in England; each flash spreads over one quarter of the visible heavens, whilst the roaring, or rather the deafening rattle, of the thunder is incessant. The comet re-appeared last night, though hardly so brilliant as it was a week ago.

I was calling upon the judge of Cuttack the other day, and his wife told me that a few nights before she went up stairs at twelve o'clock to see her little girl, who had not been quite well. On the floor of the room she saw what she thought was a piece of ribbon, and stooped to pick it up, when a cobra raised its head and expanded its hood and hissed at her in anger. She called the servants with their bamboos, and they soon killed it, but it was a great mercy that she had not touched it.

Cuttack, April 13, 1843.

THE other evening the mhator came to ask me for the key to unlock the fowl-house door, as one of the hens was loose. I

told him to bring a light, and then went across the compound. The padlock with which the door is fastened passes through a chain and eye at the top of the door. I raised my hand to unlock it, when the mhatior, who had the lantern, called out, "Sahib, sahib, samp!" (Sir, sir, a snake!) I looked, and on the very chain which I was on the point of touching was a snake. I immediately called the men to bring bamboos, and they soon killed it. On examining it we found it to be one of that sort whose bite is always fatal, so that the person bitten never lives more than half an hour, and there would be no time for the doctor to come. How thankful I should be to God for my escape! I suspect that the snake was the cobra manilla, but am not sure. It was about two feet and a half long, small head, back dark green or nearly black, with all the way along it transverse yellow stripes.

About three weeks ago was a poojah, or Hindu festival, of which I forget the name. About nine o'clock in the evening of the principal day four sepoy came to my house with the subadar major's compliments, and he would be glad if I would do them the honour to go and see the samam or show (the subadar major is the principal native officer in a regiment). I had refused them once or twice before, therefore this evening I sent my compliments and I would be there in a few minutes. When I got to the lines or houses of the sepoys I found a magnificent tent about two hundred feet long, into which I was ushered with much ceremony.

The scene was most interesting. At the upper end there were a few European officers, while down each side were ranged three or four rows of dark sepoys seated on their hams, which is the favourite position among the natives. The tent was lighted by a number of flaming torches, which threw their red light upon the swarthy faces of about seven or eight hundred gigantic up-country sepoys. The whole centre of the tent was clear for the evolutions of the nautch-girls (dancing girls): of these, who were generally young and tolerably good-looking, there were several parties of four or five. All those of one party held each other by the hand, and kept dancing backward and forward with a sort

of regular motion, and singing in a peculiar cadence. The song was an invocation of blessing on those who happened to be opposite them at the time, and every now and then they would separate to point with their hands to those who were designated in the verse. The light danced upon the spangles with which their dresses were covered, whilst innumerable little bells jingled on their arms and ankles.

When I entered the subadar major immediately came to me with a long-necked brazen vessel, from which he sprinkled over my clothes a scent extracted from the sandal-wood. He then poured some into his hand and rubbed my face and whiskers with it. This they call anointing. He then presented me with two packets of spices wrapped up in sweet-scented leaves.

As soon as he retired a party of nautch-girls came up, and, after singing a song in my praise and blessing me, suddenly separated and each one threw over me a quantity of crimson powder. In a minute my face and clothes were of a brilliant red; and wherever I had been anointed the powder stuck like paint. Every one was served in the same manner, and a pretty set we must have appeared: this is the chief fun of the festival. During the three or four days that it lasts almost every native that you meet has more or less of this red powder (called akbeer) on his body or dress. Even my monkey, which is a sacred animal with the Hindus, I found covered with it every morning. I did not stay long at the tomasa, but was glad that I had seen it: however, the cassock I had on was spoiled, not by the powder, for that I managed to brush off, but by the anointing, which has left in it so powerful a scent that it is not wearable.

Last Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday was the Chena poojah, or swinging festival. Upright poles are fixed in the earth, and at the top of each is another pole which revolves upon the first. The religious devotees are said to suspend themselves to one end of the revolving pole by iron hooks stuck into their flesh, and are then whirled round and round by a number of men. Many of these mistaken men are said to die in consequence of the tortures they endure.

At this festival it is also reported that other devotees lie on

their stomachs whilst the priests press sharp knives into them until they pin them to the ground, and that this does not always kill them ; but that when it does they consider they shall go to Brummah, their God, and that the deity will be pleased with such suffering. I am told they never utter a groan ; but I would not go to see them, though there are strong doubts whether it be not a deception.

I now often go out with Captain W. before breakfast. An account of one morning will suffice. I was called at half-past three ; dressed, and had some coffee, bread and butter, and an egg. At half-past four Captain W. and Lieutenant H. called for me on an elephant. I gave my gunpowder, &c. to two of my men to carry. The great animal then knelt down. He had no howdah, as that is not necessary, except for ladies. The only clothing on the elephant is a thick pad or cushion, covered with leather, which extends over the whole of the back. He knelt, and I climbed up in the usual manner ; that is, by standing on his hind foot, then catching hold of a rope which hangs down from his pad, and scrambling up as well as one can. The mahout then told the elephant to get up ; and off we started, half sitting half lying on the pad, and the servants, with the guns, &c., walking behind. It seems a fearful height, and for the first few miles I could not help thinking of the danger of a fall. However, one gets accustomed to such things.

The elephant carried us bravely over the loose sands, and down to a ford in the river. In crossing the stream he went more cautiously, seeming to feel each place before he put his foot down, as if he were afraid of getting into a quicksand. Once or twice, when the water was deep, I thought he would have been obliged to swim ; but I was wrong : though it would not have mattered if he had ; we should have been quite safe on his back.

After crossing the sand on the other side we went through some paddy-fields and jungle towards a jheel (or marsh), which I had mentioned as containing a great number of ducks. I had been there previously on foot with Mr. L. When we reached the jheel a heavy fog came on, and Captain W. therefore proposed that we should go on farther into the jungle, in hopes of its clearing up,

when we should find some hares. You must remember that in India, where we get nothing whatever but mutton and fowls, and where we cannot buy even these, everything in the shape of meat is a treat, if not a necessary.

On we went; the fog cleared up; we got down in a jungle of low brushwood, interspersed with several open spaces. We found some men taking charge of a herd of buffaloes: for two pice each they agreed to assist our servants in beating the bushes, and we were not long before we started several hares. I only shot one; the others were more fortunate.

At half-past seven we started on our way back. As we passed the jheel I shot a widgeon. At half-past eight got home, had a cold bath, and enjoyed my breakfast; and at dinner was very glad to have the hare and widgeon, for the expense of two pice. I often go out this way. The elephant belongs to the regiment which is stationed here. The exercise before breakfast is most healthy. One time we came upon a place in the midst of the jungle which I intend to visit again in the cold weather, when I shall have more time to examine it.

April 15, 1843.

I WILL now endeavour to give you an idea of some of our arrangements. We have moved to the other side of the house in order to have our bed-room to the west; because the sea-breeze, which blows every night, is a south-west wind. The room in which I am sitting was my wife's dressing-room; the one I use is fifty feet long. Dressing-rooms are absolutely necessary in this country, because nothing is put into the sleeping apartment except the bed, because of the mosquitoes, which harbour in swarms wherever they can find shelter. The bed is never placed against the wall, but always in the middle of the room; and the feet are placed in pans of water, to prevent the white ants, centipedes, &c. from paying you a visit during the night.

The room I am now in has one French window opening into the verandah in front, another towards the church, a door opening

into the next room, and another into the godown or store-room. All these windows and doors are now open, and I am sitting as near the centre as I can, to catch what little breeze there is, for the weather is fearfully hot; the thermometer at noon about 90° in-doors. It is now eleven in the evening, and my wife is gone to bed. The floor, which is of cement (wooden floors are never used here on account of the white ant), is covered with a curious sort of matting, made of the leaves of the date-tree. We always use mats instead of carpets in India, because they are much cooler. The walls and the ceilings are whitewashed, the universal substitute for paper or paint in the Mofussil. When I say the ceiling, I mean the ceiling-cloths, which are great sheets of canvas covering the tops of the rooms, and fastened up with cords.

Over my head swings a punkah or fan, about eighteen feet long and three wide, made of canvas stretched on a wooden frame, and also whitewashed. This hangs from the ceiling, or rather from some bamboos placed upon the ceiling. Suspended from the lower edge of the punkah is a sort of full flounce of white calico circling along the whole length. The punkah is swung backwards and forwards over my head by means of a long rope pulled by a bearer sitting in the verandah. This man is now fast asleep, but still he continues to pull the rope, and so he would do for hours if I required it.

The furniture of the room consists of a table, a sideboard, and a large screen of common cloth, stretched on a frame of sissoo-wood (a sort of coarse rose-wood). It is about seven feet high and seven across, and is placed before the door of the garden. On the sideboard stands a flat candlestick, with a glass shade to keep the insects from the flame. The candle is wax; we cannot use tallow for two reasons: the climate of India is so hot that the candles would not remain upright, and the sheep here have very little fat upon them. On the table are two Indian table-lamps. I hardly know how to describe them. The lower part is like an upright candlestick, on which is placed a glass cup half filled with water, the other half with cocoa-nut oil. In the bottom is a little bit of lead with two thin cotton wicks in it, which reach a little above the surface of the oil. These are alight. Over the

whole is a large inverted bell-glass to keep off the insects, which at present swarm around. Every minute I hear the mosquitoes buzzing about my ears; then they settle on my face, and on my clothes, through which they are enabled to bite with ease. This keeps me in a continued fidget.

There is also an incessant whistling all around from what we call crickets, though they are somewhat different from those in England. A number of large grasshoppers, about two inches long, of a light green, are hopping about on the table, and occasionally on my paper. On the wall are several long-tailed lizards: they are only slightly venomous; and, though extremely ugly, we are always glad to see them, because they eat the mosquitoes. Round the ceiling are circling three large bats, which my mungoose, sitting in a corner, keeps watching. Should one fall, he would seize and devour him in an instant. A wild cat came through the room just now, and took a peep at me; but the mungoose growled, and it ran way. It was small; but it has been very destructive in the poultry-yard.

But I must now return to what I was telling. The place which we came upon in the jungle is called Old Cuttack; and it deserves the name, for I do not suppose it has been inhabited for the last thousand years. It appears from what little I saw of it to be a most wonderful place, and certainly proves that the population in the olden times must have been very numerous, and far advanced in mechanical arts. It consists of a deep ravine, the sides of which are composed of a dark rock of extreme hardness, and containing a great quantity of iron. On one side it has been made perfectly smooth, although certainly not less than seventy feet in height: on the other are numerous steps and staircases, cut out of the solid rock. The stone does not seem to have been broken off and then chiselled smooth, but it appears as if the steps had been cut out in solid pieces.

On the summit are the remains of houses built of large blocks, all perfectly smooth, saving from the effects of time and weather. Scattered about are heaps of rock, as if collected for building. At a little distance on the banks of the river is a sort of sea-wall, which I have not yet seen, but in which, they tell me, many of the masses of rock are sixteen or eighteen feet long.

All this appears doubly wonderful when you remember that the natives now, almost naked, build their houses of mud, without windows, and with a miserable thatch; that their fireplaces are nothing but little holes in the ground; and that in most respects they are absolute savages. Either they have very much degenerated, or, which is more probable, the race which built these mighty works is swept away.

April 17, 1843.

I WAS in doubt concerning the Chena Poojah, but it appears that the hooks are fastened to a cord, which cuts into the body, and literally causes the blood to flow in streams. They say also that it is the victims themselves that pass the spears into their bodies, and not the priests.

I may here mention that my compound and garden formerly belonged to a General Carpenter, and he planted and sowed many very rare plants—some from China, from America, and from the islands in the Pacific. There are three trees of a very particular sort, of which I very much wish to know the name. They are generally called the cotton-tree, although altogether different from the ordinary cotton-plant, and I suspect they come from America. The tree is about thirty-five or forty feet in height, not many branches, and a very smooth bark. I cannot describe the leaf, for as yet it is not out; but it has borne flowers and fruit since I have been here; of course, therefore, these were before the leaves. The flower, of a brilliant red, is in appearance half-way between a tulip and a tiger-lily; it grows from buds in the thick branches, and is about twice the size of the latter flower. The blossom gives place to a pod about four or five inches in length, and in the form of a sphere drawn out at both ends. The interior of the pod is divided longitudinally into four segments: the whole contains a great number of black seeds buried in a soft silky cotton. I intend to stuff some pillows with it: I think it will be as soft as down. The fibres are said to be too short to form cloth; but I think if they had this tree in England they would manage to use it, and the cloth would resemble very soft silk.

Juggernat'h, May, 1843.

THE first account I received of the Chena Poojah was correct. The hooks are passed through the muscles on each side the spine : for several days previously the muscles are rubbed and beaten in order to harden them. At the festival they frequently run pieces of iron through the tongue. The victims belong to the lowest castes, and generally swing and torture themselves as proxies for the Brahmins who have made a vow.

This place is marked Juggernat'h on the maps, although properly that is only the name of the idol in the temple. The town itself is called Pooree, or the City of Cities.

I left Cuttack on Thursday, April 20, and after one night's dâk arrived here, the distance being about forty-eight miles. I went to the Circuit-house, a large unfurnished residence, appropriated by Government to the use of those officers who go on circuit through the district. However, Mr. B., the magistrate and principal person here, would not allow me to remain there, but insisted upon my coming and living at his house, and sending at once for my wife to come and join me. This I gladly did. Mrs. Acland discharged most of our servants, and came down here ; so she has the benefit of living at Pooree, and at the same time of saving money, for the month's wages of the servants discharged will more than pay for her journey. We have a bed-room, sitting and dressing apartments, and two bath-rooms to ourselves ; and we breakfast, dine, &c., with Mr. and Mrs. B.

It is difficult to imagine the delight of coming to such a place as Pooree. At Cuttack we are obliged to keep every door and window shut, in order to exclude the hot air. We close them at six in the morning and open them at seven in the evening. One doorway is fitted with a framework, covered with matting made of scented grass. This is called a tatty, and is kept all day thoroughly wet, in order to cool the room by evaporation, the punkah continually fanning over head ; but in spite of all this the heat is fearful, and still increasing ; the thermometer stood in-doors at 103°.

At Pooree, forty-eight miles from Cuttack, we have no pun-

kahs, no tatties; all the windows wide open, the waves rolling up close to the houses, a delicious sea-breeze all day, the thermometer never yet above 85°; not a mosquito to be seen, and no insects but a few English flies. Excepting among the mountains, Pooree is perhaps the coolest place in India, and I am considered most fortunate in having it in my district.

The coming here is a renewal of life and strength. When we are down on the sands in the evening, we might quite fancy ourselves in England again; and I assure you that at five o'clock in the afternoon, by the sea-side, we are glad to walk fast in order to keep ourselves warm. This is the state of Pooree at present. After the rains, that is, in October and November, it becomes extremely hot and very unhealthy; for then the sea-breeze ceases and the land-wind sets in, passing in its course over the dead bodies of hundreds of pilgrims.

The most conspicuous object here is the temple of Jugger-nat'h, to which devotees come from every part of India. It is an immense pile of massive buildings. There are at times as many as one hundred thousand pilgrims here at once. No European is allowed to enter even the court.

The sea is most magnificent. The beach is composed entirely of sand, something like that at Weston-super-Mare; but there is only a few yards' difference between high and low water. There is an incessant surf extending almost to the horizon—one line behind another of enormous breakers. Some people used occasionally to bathe, but the surf rendered it very dangerous, and at last one of them had a leg carried away by a shark, since which every one is afraid; we therefore have salt water brought up to the house.*

Cuttack, August 7, 1843.

I MUST now give an account of Mofussil society. We will suppose a married couple going to a new station,—as, for in-

* A gap occurs here in the narrative, from a portion of it having gone down in the "Memnon" in the Red Sea.

stance, my wife and myself coming to Cuttack. Well, we arrive wretched enough about eight o'clock in the morning, after a long dâk journey. All that day we are engaged in setting things to rights. The next morning I order my carriage, and go out to make my calls; for in India, unlike England, the stranger calls first. The hours for calling are from half-past ten to one, after which time you would not be admitted anywhere, as it is supposed that the lady of the house is just going to tiffin (lunch), which she takes at two, and then goes to sleep for two or three hours.

Of course the first person I call on is the commanding officer. I drive in at the gate of the compound, and under some trees, up to the house door, and so under the portico; for every house has a very large carriage portico to protect the horses from the sun. My carriage is a phaëton—the britska, phaëton, and buggy being almost the only vehicles used in India. The britska does very well for a judge, and the buggy a sort of carriage for a single man. Mine is a phaëton with two ponies. On the box sits the coachman—dark-brown face, large black mustachios, white calico tunic and trowsers, white turban, turned up with pale blue, as livery, and blue and white cummerband round the waist; except only when it is wet, and then he wears a crimson skull-cap, and a scarlet full cloak with sleeves. A syce or groom runs by the side of the ponies.

Arrived at the door, I call out “Sahib hy?” Gentleman in? meaning, Is your master at home? If not, I leave a card: if he is, I enter the house, and follow the servant who has answered me. I should have told you that there are no such things as knockers or bells here. Every door is open, unless in the very hot weather, and there are always six or eight servants lounging about in the verandah. As I step out of the carriage, each one of these stoops down, touches the ground with the back of his hand, and then pats his forehead three or four times, signifying, I suppose, that, if I were to order him, he would even throw dirt upon his own head.

In reply to the question “Sahib hy?” one of the men answers, “Hy, khadawum”—He is, O representative of God;

at the same time holding his hands pressed together as if he were saying his prayers. He precedes me into the house, still in the same attitude. He sets me a chair, whilst another man comes in, unfastens the rope of the punkah, and, taking the end of it out into the verandah, sits down and pulls it, and very soon falls asleep, still, however, continuing his occupation.

Presently in comes the master of the house, dressed in white jacket, black neckerchief (if any), white shirt, white trowsers, white stockings, and shoes made of some white skin. I should have told you that the servant who shows me in takes my card to his master, with which card his master plays the whole time I am there. In a few minutes in comes the lady, in clothes hanging loosely around her; she probably does not wear stays in the morning: her dress is white muslin, and her face, as well as those of her children, if she have any, is of a ghastly pale colour. This is universal in India.

There is not much conversation at a first visit, so I soon rise and go to some person to whom I have a letter of introduction, when he at once volunteers to accompany me on the rest of my calls. These first visits are made by the gentleman only; his wife does not accompany him. In the course of a few days the gentlemen return the call, bringing their wives with them. Daughters are out of the question: beyond the age of six they are a genus unknown in India. They go to England at that age, come out again to India at eighteen, and probably marry in Calcutta, and settle at once some four or five months' journey from their parents, who have been so anxiously looking forward to seeing them.

A few days after the form of calling has been gone through, some half-dozen different persons send you invitations to dinner, kindly wishing to welcome the stranger to the station. From half-past seven to eight is the usual hour in India; for if people dined earlier they would necessarily lose their evening drive. The carriage enters the compound; a servant runs in to the sahib, and, pressing his own hands together, says, "Ghairree ata" (carriage comes). Out issues the sahib into the front ve-

randah : the lady is handed out ; the gentleman offers his arm, and walks off, leaving me to follow as best I may.

From the verandah we enter the dining-room. There are no halls or passages or cupboards in the Mofussil. Down the whole length of the room is a long table laid for dinner, round which we must wind to get to the opposite door leading into the drawing-room. Here are a number of ladies seated on one side the room, on the other side the gentlemen. After a little while an old Indian with a long silvery beard, and dressed completely in white, comes in, and, pressing his hands together, says, "Canna mig" (dinner on table).

Then the master of the house gives his arm to the most important lady present ; the others do likewise, according to the most strict precedence of rank, the lady of the house being taken first. She does not take the top of the table, but assigns that place to whoever has led her in, herself occupying the seat next him on his right hand. Each person brings his khitmutgar ; accordingly, behind each chair stands a man in white, who, as you sit down, unfolds and hands you the napkin which was on your plate ; he then falls back a step, and crosses his arms over his chest. As soon as grace has been said, the cover is taken off the soup-tureen, and those who like it are helped to a rich sort of chicken-broth.

After that, you hear on every side—"Mrs. So-and-so, may I have the pleasure of taking a glass of wine with you?" "I shall be very happy." "Which do you take, beer or wine?" "Thank you ; I will take a little beer," or "wine," as the case may be. Suppose the former, and myself the speaker, I turn round and say to my khitmutgar, "Beer, shraubs meem Sahib, ki do" (beer-wine, Mrs. Lady, give).

In the mean time they are uncovering the dishes. At the top is a pair of fine roast fowls, at the bottom a pair of boiled ditto. At the sides, fowl cutlets, fowl patties, fowl rissoles, stewed fowls, grilled fowl, chicken-pie, &c. &c. No ham, no bacon, and little tiny potatoes not larger than a cherry, with stewed cucumbers, and some sticky Indian vegetables, are handed round. But for the second course a great treat is reserved. Six or seven mutton-chops,

each equal to one mouthful, are brought in, and with much ceremony placed at the top of the table; at the other end are slices of potatoes fried. Your hostess tells you how glad she was that Mr. So-and-so had sent her the loin of a Patna sheep to-day: she hoped we should like it. Then comes curried fowl and rice; then pine-apple pie, custard, jelly, plantain, oranges, pine-apples, &c. &c.; but directly these sweets appear, there appear also, behind the chairs of many of the gentlemen, servants carrying a little carpet, with a neat fringe to it. These they place at the back of their masters' chairs, on the floor, and then each servant brings in a large hookah, places it on the little carpet, and, whilst the ladies and others are eating the custards, pies, and fruits, you have all around you the incessant bubble from the hookah, and smell the filthy smoke from an abominable compound of tobacco and various noxious drugs.

The ladies rarely sit for above one glass of wine, when they retire and leave the smokers to themselves. Cigars are then produced for the use of the other gentlemen; and, after they have all smoked and drunk a little more wine than enough, they join the ladies. Then there is a little general talking, then a little music: then come cards—I never play—and then the good-byes, and so home to bed—a nightmare during one's sleep, and a headache in the morning! When alone, we always dine at four.

Cuttack, August 29, 1843.

I HAD been sitting in the verandah reading, and went away for a few minutes to speak to my wife. When I came back my chair was occupied. There, sitting as quietly and demurely as possible, was an enormous ourang-outang, or monkey of some sort. When I first caught sight of him he had my book in his hands, and was to all appearance reading. It happened, however, to be rather a stupid book, and he very soon threw it down; he then placed his hands upon his knees and sat perfectly still, just as if he had been meditating on what he had been reading. I should say, as

nearly as I could judge, that he must have been above five feet in height, supposing him to stand erect. He sat as upright as any man.

After watching him for a minute or two, and observing that the calves of his legs were thicker and more like those of a man than monkeys' legs usually are, I stepped quietly back and called my wife. All this time I had not seen his face; however, as she came, one of the parrots screamed, and the old gentleman turned his head. His face was very dark, with large whiskers and beard, and hair all perfectly white; his body a light-brown, and his face and hands peculiarly large. As soon as he saw me he half rose, laid both hands on the elbow of the chair, and began to grin and show his teeth and spit at me. I did not quite like it, as I was afraid he might make a spring in my direction; yet I knew that my voice would at once frighten him away, if I raised the horrid unearthly yell used by the natives to scare wild beasts, and which even the tiger will hardly resist unless much pressed by hunger.

Still I felt more inclined to watch him. Once I thought of going round the other way and getting my gun, but really he looked so much like a man that I could not have shot him. He continued to grin and spit until I turned away, hoping he would resume his former sedate position. As soon, however, as he thought my eye was off him he rose leisurely from his chair, stepped slowly out of the verandah, caught hold of a branch of the banian-tree, and swung himself up into it. As he did this I saw that he had a long tail, so he could not, I believe, have been an ourang-outang. Indeed I never heard of them coming into this little island, nor, I think, into the district. I went into my study, and immediately afterwards heard him scuttling away over the roof of the house. I have not seen him since, but if he comes back I shall try to make friends with him by giving him food, though I believe he belongs to rather a treacherous family.

Whilst on this subject, I will mention another monkey which I saw a few days ago. It is almost two feet in height, quite black, except a circle of light-brown hair round its face, and is held in high veneration by the natives. They come chiefly from

a place up the country called Brinderbund, where it is said there are nothing but Brahmins and monkeys.

I was once driving with a friend when we met a party of pilgrims, who had two or three monkeys with them. We stopped and spoke to the people, and one of the monkeys came into the carriage and perched himself on my lap. I offered the people two rupees for him, but they said they were going to take the two to Juggernat'h, where the Rajah would buy them. I asked how much they would take for them; they said fifty rupees for the pair. This I could not afford, and I told them so; they then said I might have them both for twenty-five rupees. This, however, was more than I could give, and we therefore drove on, though I was very unwilling to part with the little fellows, that seemed to have taken quite a fancy to me.

The manner of reception at the judge's is much the same as I described in my last; but here there are, however, two or three different additional servants, who with long chouries keep flapping the insects off the table and the faces of the company. Here is also plenty of mutton; and cheese from England. All the side dishes are of silver.

In the drawing-room most of the tables are marble. From the ceiling is suspended a number of small plated chandeliers with glass drops; in another room is a good piano-forte, and after dinner some very tolerable music and singing. There is also a little rational conversation.

But now let me describe a bachelor's party at the commissioner's, who, by the way, is above the judge in rank and in salary. I say a bachelor's party, because his wife is gone to England for her health, and he cannot therefore invite ladies. Before dinner there is much general conversation about races, church-building, hunting, the paucity of chaplains, &c. &c. Some magnificent prints are brought forward; a set of splendid silver medallions of sacred history are examined and admired; some ancient coins and inscriptions are submitted to the inspection of the unlearned; the last English reviews are brought under discussion.

In the mean time the gentlemen are lounging upon ottomans

about a large marble table, the host going from one to another, speaking to and trying to please all. To the sportsman he speaks of his gun, to the chaplain of a project of building a new church, to the engineer of the aerial steam-ship, and, in short, makes every one pleased both with himself and his neighbours. I need hardly tell you that our commissioner at Cuttack is a most agreeable man; his great object is to make others happy, and his kind good-natured face is welcome everywhere. He is about thirty-six years of age, fond of sporting, fond of reading, fond of children—although he has none himself. Every one likes him, from the judge to the faquer, from the highest to the lowest—unless, indeed, the lawless, and those he does not spare. He has the grand tact of rendering himself agreeable to everybody, and the means by which he does this is the exercise of a kind heart. He does not obtrude his concerns, but listens patiently and with interest to the remarks of others; and this, remember, with cheerfulness and pure morality, is the means by which any person may make himself beloved.

But to return: the conversation turns upon church music. "You have an organ, Commissioner, have you not?" says one. "Yes, but I very seldom use it."

"You should send it to the church," said I.

"Well, I have sometimes thought I would, but I am afraid you have no place for it; and, besides, I don't know whether the tunes would do."

"Let us judge of that," says the magistrate; "give us a tune whilst they are putting the dinner on the table."

"Very well; and I am sure, if the padre likes it, he is very welcome to have it till Mrs. M. comes back."

Thereupon we adjourned to an adjoining room, where there was a very large upright organ, but, as Mr. M. said, "only a grinder." He puts in the church barrel, and, turning the handle, plays, one after another, several really beautiful psalm-tunes, whilst every one stands serious and attentive. At last dinner is announced. The style is much the same as at the judge's, except that almost all the dishes are silver, and there is a magnificent racing-cup of the same metal in the centre. The eatables, how-

ever, are many of them English. There is fresh salmon brought from England, English soups, English potatoes, carrots, oysters, cheese, &c. &c., all brought out in canisters hermetically sealed.

Of course, as everywhere else, the beer, wines, &c., are from England, for so devoid are we of any trading community, that in this splendid climate no attempt has ever yet been made to manufacture wine. Beer we could not make, at least so they say, for want of barley;* but I believe that pine-apples, of which we get three or four young juicy ones for a penny, would make splendid wine. England has no pine-apples at all like ours. Then there are preserves and pies made of green-gages, apricots, &c., all from home. Here also, as at the judge's, there is abundance of champagne, or, as we call it here, tokay. After dinner, at all houses, each person takes a small glass of liqueur.

At the commissioner's, being a bachelor's party, we remained in the dining-room. Cigars were introduced, with coffee and brandy-and-water for those who liked it. I will now relate an anecdote I heard there:—

"Why, B.," said Mr. M., "I heard you had an adventure yesterday. What was it?"

"Oh! don't ask me; it makes me almost sick to think of it."

"Oh, nonsense!" from all present.

"Well, if I must, here goes." Then drinking off a glass of wine B. began: "I suppose I must make a regular history of it, so I will commence at the beginning. Last evening, in the bright and balmy, or I should say gorgeous, splendour of an oriental sunset, when the brilliant tints of—"

"Bah! B., don't be too absurd," cried some of us; "tell us what it was without all this brilliant balmy nonsense."

"Why, I thought I was poetical; but I see you have no poetry in your souls; so I will condescend to prose. I was obliged yesterday afternoon to go down the river for a short distance; I had a boat and three natives. When I had completed what I wanted I returned, and was paddling along, not far from the bank, just on this side of those enormous blocks of iron rock

* Plenty of barley is grown in Bhootan.

which keep the river from overflowing, and form such a splendid monument of the great mechanical powers of the ancient Hindus—”

“Come, never mind the antiquities; we will have them another time. Let us hear your own adventures now.”

“Well, I had just rounded this point when one of my men called out most vehemently, ‘Look, sir, look; there is a tiger!’ My eyes were instantly turned in the direction towards which he pointed, and there I saw a most fearful sight. A man was tearing, springing, bounding towards the river, and a hundred yards behind him followed a large panther, pursuing him with those rapid leaps for which that animal is so famous. I instantly ordered my people to pull towards the shore, in the hope of rescuing the panting wretch who thus struggled for his life. Before we reached the bank the man had made a bound into the water, and stood immersed up to his neck. I suppose he was too much exhausted to swim, for we could hardly hear his voice as he called to us to make haste.

“At this instant I saw the dark blunt snout of an enormous alligator rising slowly above the surface, as he made his way towards his intended victim. I shouted to the man, ‘Crocodile! crocodile!’ He heard me, hesitated an instant, then rushed back to the bank. This sudden movement disconcerted the panther, who started back a few paces, and the next moment our boat shot within reach. ‘Come hither,’ I exclaimed. The man made a spring; the panther leaped forward, and, as I seized the former by the arm, the latter seized him by the leg.

“Oh! the shriek of the poor victim! I shall never forget it. Foolishly I had not brought my rifle, but I shouted to the men to strike the beast with their oars. No; the cowardly wretches shrank down in the farther end of the boat, and would not move. I could do nothing, therefore, but pull at the man’s shoulder, whilst his horrid shrieks were ringing in my ears. Had I let go, the panther would instantly have carried him off; had there been another European with me, the man might have been saved.

“This takes long to describe, but it was all the work of a few seconds. Presently I felt that I was drawing the man more

towards me ; I looked, and saw the flesh of the leg peeling off in the jaws of the panther until it came to the ankle, where, with one crunch, the bone was severed, and the beast galloped off with the fearful mouthful. I now drew the man, who by this time was quite senseless, into the boat. I tied my handkerchief tightly round the upper part of his leg, and with a piece of wood formed a sort of tourniquet. We brought him to Cuttack, and sent him at once to the hospital ; but he died in the course of a few hours."

"What a horrible affair !" exclaimed several voices.

"But I thought," said I, "that the voice, or even the eye, of man was sufficient to make any beast quail."

"So it is, provided they are neither very hungry nor very much excited. This beast had been engaged in a long chase, and nothing could have frightened him from his prey."

"Ah ! of course that would have made a difference," I replied ; "but Mr. L. had a little adventure the other day which seems to prove the power of the eye of man."

"Oh ! there is no doubt that man is master of all, and I believe many natives have been preserved by the power of the human eye, and many more might be saved if they only had the coolness to exercise the power which has been bestowed upon them. But what was the adventure of L.'s?"

"It was nothing very wonderful or exciting. He was staying at Chugga for a few days ; and one morning he went out with his gun, accompanied by a native Christian of the name of Perswa. Whilst they were in the jungle they suddenly heard a distant shout, as of some one calling 'Perswa, Perswa !' They sat down and bent their ears to the ground to listen. Presently the cry was repeated, 'Perswa, Perswa !' Again it was renewed, 'Perswa, Perswa !' 'It is a tiger,' cried his follower. They immediately hastened back to the village, but found no one there but four old women, who told them that one of their people was hurt by a tiger. Mr. L. started instantly to his rescue, and as he left the village he was joined by at least fifty men, who in their fear were hiding, but, being now encouraged by the presence of a white man, sallied forth with him. Following the

direction of the cries of the poor wretch, they soon came to the spot where he stood facing a large tiger.

"It seems that the man, whilst in the jungle, had suddenly caught sight of it on the very point of springing upon him. With great presence of mind he stood perfectly still, and fixed his eyes steadily on the monstrous brute. The tiger wavered for an instant, then, quailing before his eye, he slunk behind a bush. Still the man kept his eye upon him, whilst the tiger every minute peered forth to see whether that dreaded eye was withdrawn.

"From bush to bush the tiger moved, as if seeking to avoid the gaze, in order that he might spring out to seize his prey. Slowly the man turned from side to side, still facing his dreaded foe, and calling upon Perswa and the Padre Sahib to come and save him; and this he continued till the party came up, who by their shouts forced the tiger to abandon his intended meal. Now this seems a strong instance of the power of the human eye."

"It does indeed," replied F. "I have known it exercised with equal success in another case. A young officer was walking through the jungle; he foolishly had nothing but his pistols with him. Suddenly he heard a noise, and observed the branches shaking near him; he crept forward on his hands and knees, to see what animal was there. Presently he found himself face to face with a huge bull bison. He started to his feet, drew a pistol from his belt, and fixed his eye upon that of the animal. The bison tore the turf with his teeth and horns, stamping furiously, but yet he dared not charge while the human eye was fixed on his. Presently the beast appeared to become uneasy, moved his enormous shaggy head from side to side, and at last slunk off to join the herd that were feeding in the distance; and so my friend was saved by his own presence of mind and the power of the human eye."

But we have been long enough at the commissioner's dinner-table; so let us go home and to bed. It is ten o'clock, and for the people in the Mofussil that is a very late hour. I have told you what a nuisance the mosquitoes are, and also the white ants.

There is another creature from which you are comparatively free in England, and that is the bat. Numbers of all sizes make their nests up above the chats or ceiling-cloths in the bungalows, some not bigger than the humming-bird, others, as I have told you, so large as to deserve the name of flying foxes. Often at night they come into the rooms. One evening, when my wife was going to bed, she found five large bats wheeling round and round in her dressing-room.

On such occasions as this I post myself in one corner of the room, and my chokedar or watchman in another, both armed with long sticks, with which we keep hitting at the bats until we knock them down, and then we throw them out of doors. Often, as they whirl round the room, one will hit himself against the punkah, and fall to the ground. Instantly the mungoose springs upon him, and we hear the bones crushing in his jaws.

One night I was suddenly awakened by something moving and scratching about my head ; I raised my hand, and found a large bat clinging to my hair ; dreading a snake, I had started up—there was a weight upon my head. I dashed him off, and soon went to sleep again ; but he appeared to have taken a fancy to me, and I was again awakened in the same manner ; this time, therefore, I got out of bed, knocked the animal down, and killed him. I have several times been roused at night by a great cockroach, three or four inches long, crawling over my face. The other evening a flight of large maulises came into the parlour, and soon drove us to bed. I have two cobras, which were both killed in my own house ; also a tarantula, which I caught in my dressing-room.

To turn to another subject. I have been endeavouring to render society here more friendly and agreeable than it can be at large formal dinner-parties, and I am happy to say it has been followed by some of the most influential, and I trust that the custom may become general. The plan is to invite about eight, and those all friendly and intimate, to a quiet dinner at four o'clock. By the time this is over the sun is getting low ; and, instead of sitting for a couple of hours over the wine, we soon follow the ladies into the drawing-room. The carriages come

to the door for those who like a drive. Some stroll into the wood with their guns; some talk; and so the time passes for about an hour, when the sudden darkness falls upon us almost without warning. We all reassemble at seven for tea and coffee; then spend a pleasant chatty hour or two, or disperse at about half-past nine, having had more amusement than can be enjoyed at a mere dinner-party.

We are making rather a large flower-garden between the house and the river. The wages to a good gardener are about two pence a-day—to a coolie, or labourer, a penny three farthings. My mollee, or gardener, is a very good one; but I must explain what we mean by a good gardener. It signifies neither more nor less than a good thief. I plan my garden and lay it out, showing the man where the paths are to be, where the beds, and where the lawns. Within a few days after it is laid out I expect to find it tolerably full of flowers and shrubs. Where they come from I do not know: you cannot purchase any such things here. Of course, then, everything must come from the gardens of my neighbours. In England this would be considered, and would in fact be, a very dishonest mode of proceeding; but in India it is the custom.

The mollees have the charge of the gardens, and they mutually supply one another. If after a time I should have anything very choice in my garden, my mollee would give cuttings or small plants of it to any of the other mollees who wished for them, and thus every garden would be improved. A person must be very churlish indeed to interfere with this system of general accommodation, which in the end is equally advantageous to all. The system, however, is liable to abuse, and therefore I do not think I altogether approve of it myself. I was once dining with a young officer, and we had some remarkably fine peas. After praising them, I observed that I did not know he had a garden. "Why, no," he replied, laughing; "but I keep a very good gardener." Now this was decidedly most unjust. This young man would not be at the trouble or expense of a garden himself, but chose to take an unfair advantage of the industry and liberality of others. I was not at all surprised to

hear, shortly afterwards, that a court of inquiry had been sitting to examine into the circumstances of a most dishonourable action which he had committed, and for which, if it had not been for the leniency of his commanding officer, he would most probably have been cashiered.

I think I have told you how cruelly some of the people here beat their servants. I was standing with an officer in the porch of his house when I was last at Midnapore, when his syce, or groom, brought his horse to the door. Captain L. turned to me, and said, "I have not given that fellow a thrashing for a long time, and he'll forget what it feels like, and grow lazy." Now the fact was, the man was so attentive and industrious that Captain L. could not possibly find any fault with him. However, he went down the steps, and, on the pretence that the man did not hold his horse properly, gave him several violent blows on the face and head, kicked him three or four times with all his force, and struck him on the back with a two-foot rule with such violence that the man was obliged to have his back plastered and bandaged up: and all this without the slightest fault on the part of the servant.

Much as has been said about slavery, I do not believe that any of the slaves in Jamaica were ever worse treated than are the servants of some of our officers here. The excuse is, that it is impossible to manage the Hindus without the whip; but I never use it, and I am certainly quite as well served by all, excepting two. With these I am going to part, for they have been spoiled by living with a very violent man. I will give you an instance of the punishments I employ.

My sirdar always goes home to his supper at nine o'clock. The other evening, after he was gone, I found that he had neglected to get the night-lamp ready, so I was obliged to do it myself. The following morning, instead of thrashing him, I made no observation whatever on the subject; but at nine o'clock in the evening, when he came to ask whether he might go home, I said, "You did not bring the night-lamp last night; I may want something else that is not ready, so for the next week you will not go till eleven." This was a great punishment to him,

and yet it did not degrade either the man or myself as a beating would do. At the same time I fully admit that the natives, by their slowness and inactivity, are sometimes very provoking; but surely that is no excuse to the Christian who gives way to angry feelings.

Cuttack, October 12, 1843.

I RETURNED to Cuttack yesterday from Midnapore. It was a most wretched journey, raining incessantly—not such mild gentle rain as you have in England, but regular blinding torrents. The roads were so desperately bad that, although I engaged two extra bearers at each stage, yet each day's journey of fifty miles took me twenty-four hours instead of fifteen. My last day's journey was from Barrapore to Cuttack—fifty miles. I started at two in the afternoon, and arrived at home at half-past two the next day.

About eight o'clock in the evening the rain came down almost in one sheet of water: the men could hardly stagger along with their burden. The rain was driven by the furious gusts of wind violently against the doors of the palanquin, but they were closed and bolted. I was smoking a cigar, and thinking about dear England, when suddenly it struck me that it was becoming very cold. I wondered at it, so closely shut up as the palanquin was. Still it became colder and colder. I was lying on my back. I laid my hand on my face—it was quite warm. I touched my chest—it was warm also. Suddenly I jumped up—it was only the side of me underneath that was cold. My trowsers, shirt, flannel waistcoat, &c., were all soaking. The rain had found its way in at the crevice between the doors, and formed a little puddle just where I was lying.

A severe cold is a very dangerous thing in this country, often bringing on jungle-fever. I first stripped off my wet clothes, then sopped up the puddle as well as I could, and stopped the leak. I then wrapped myself up in a warm blanket. After these preliminaries I got out of my canteen a small spirit-lamp

and kettle, then hung them to the top of the palanquin, struck a light, and boiled some water. This I poured into a tumbler, and, adding a little brandy and a little essence of ginger, drank it off, and then composed myself to sleep. I dozed a little; awoke again; tried to go to sleep; could not; changed horses—I mean men; on again; the blanket wet through; moved the blanket so as to have a dry part next me; soon wet through again. At last the blanket was soaking; felt my clothes, which I had hung up to dry; still very wet, but they nevertheless seemed better than the soppy blanket, so I dressed again.

I dared not call the man for my patarahs, or tin boxes, and get out fresh things, for they would have been drenched in an instant. So I dressed in the wet ones; stuffed the blanket up against the leak; lighted another cigar, and puffed away until the palanquin was quite filled with smoke. This created additional warmth, helped to dry my clothes, and by its effects upon myself I have no doubt assisted in keeping off fever.

But as I live so much in my palanquin, I think I had better give a more accurate description of it than I have done. It is made of wood, painted as an English carriage, and having arms, crest, &c., if you choose. The top is covered with a white cement to prevent its leaking, and is slightly curved, so that the rain may run off. The bottom is open wicker-work, on which is laid a mattress and other cushions, covered generally with thin leather. The sides, top, &c., are lined, often with crimson silk. I have had my mattress and other cushions covered with white drill; it is much more serviceable, and will wash: my lining is of the same. The interior length of my palanquin is six feet six inches, the breadth three feet three inches, and of the same height.

The wicker-work of the bottom extends from the head to within one foot three inches of the foot; then instead of wicker-work is a wooden box, which in mine is covered with part of a leopard's skin. In it I carry a few bottles of soda-water and beer and a bottle of water. Over my feet, resting on brackets, is a box, an invention of my own, which I find most useful. It is three feet long, one foot and a quarter broad, and one

foot high. In this I keep a great variety of things that I may need.

Whenever I halt I have nothing to do but lift this box out, and there is all my apparatus on the table. Most people have only a shelf, on which they place their medicine-chest, dressing-case, pistols, &c.; but I found this so inconvenient, that I resolved to have the whole in one moveable box, and I find it a great additional comfort. In the lining of the palanquin are pockets for books, &c., and stuck here and there are hooks, on which to hang a watch, &c.

I have pillows especially for my palanquin. I take a blanket and a few books, and then I can start in tolerable comfort for a four or five days' journey. There is a place outside behind for a large brass washhand-basin; in front there are two little windows, like those of a carriage, with glass and Venetian blinds; behind there is one window, and also a lamp with a glass in the back of the palanquin, so as to show its light inside.

Cuttack, November 8, 1843.

I HAVE just been called out to see an enormous Bengal tiger which some native huntsmen shot last night. It has been long prowling about between Cuttack and Chogga, and has carried off many unfortunate men. A party of us intended to go out and look for him next week. He was wounded first by a shot in the shoulder; the second ball went through his eye and killed him at once. It was a magnificent beast.

On the 9th a large leopard was brought in, and also a wild boar. The latter animal is excessively savage and very dangerous. The usual mode of hunting is on horseback, armed with long lances or spears. His strength is very great; he is much larger and longer than the English pig. When enraged his back becomes as much curved as that of the hyæna; indeed, it is a good deal so at all times. From the top of the head to the tail extends a thick mane of bristles, not hanging down like a horse's

mane, but standing perfectly upright. I have a young one now in a sty, but the men are obliged to throw his food to him, as he flies at them directly they go within reach. The tusks of the wild boar grow to several inches in length. A friend of mine was out one day when a boar charged his horse; the brute made a spring at its hinder parts, cutting right and left, and both the hind legs of the steed were severed to the bone, and his master was obliged to dismount and shoot him.

This reminds me of another anecdote. Miss D., the sister of the doctor at Balasore, was out riding a short time since; a gentleman of her acquaintance was with her. They were moving slowly along, when suddenly they heard a crackling of the branches by the roadside, and the next instant an enormous tiger sprang into the middle of the lane, just in front of them. The horses appeared paralysed; they could not move, but stood trembling in every joint. The tiger turned round, glared upon them, opened his mouth wide, and gave that horrible ya a-a-a, then made a spring, bounded into the jungle on the other side, and disappeared.

The tiger which they brought in the other day measured ten feet six inches in length, and one foot two inches round his ankle. This species possesses enormous strength; a single blow from his paw is sufficient to crush a man's skull into one frightful mass.

The adjutant of the 8th Bengal Native Regiment told me of a case which he had seen. A tiger seized a large English bullock, tossed it over his shoulders, and then sprang at one bound over a fence several feet in height: so you may easily imagine that a wild tiger is not a very pleasant companion.

We had a sad loss the night before last. I have already mentioned our beautiful little antelope, which used to come and lie at my feet while I was writing. The other night I heard him give a faint scream, and hastened to see what was the matter; he had been bitten by a cobra, and was dead in ten minutes. Poor little fellow! I could have cried,—my wife *did*. I have seen many, but never knew one so tame before. I doubt whether any of the servants had dry eyes as its body was thrown into the

river. The bite of the cobra causes the body to swell to a frightful size.

The other day my wife was walking in the garden, when a large cobra glided past her; she called some of the men, who soon killed it, but it was too large to put into a bottle. A gentleman, happening to call just then, asked me whether I had seen the poison. I said, "No." He took the head between his fingers and squeezed it in such a way as to open the mouth. In the upper jaw were two very large white fangs, corresponding as it were to our eye-teeth. As he squeezed with more force, a tiny drop of perfectly transparent colourless fluid issued through the point of each fang—these were drops of venom that pass into the wound. The gentleman who showed me this was a medical man, and he said that he would not for a lac of rupees have the half of one of those drops get into a cut in his finger.

Last June, when the weather was intensely hot, after we left Pooree, where we had resided for six weeks with Mr. and Mrs. B., I went to Chandapore, a delightful place on the sea-coast, about seven miles from Balasore. The thermometer was 105° in-doors at six o'clock in the evening. When I started from Cuttack the thermometer in my palkee stood at 126° . At Chandapore I was glad to put on a cloth coat and cloth trowsers. That is one great advantage in my station; I have almost every variety of climate, except extreme cold. Indeed, when the bishop asked me how I liked my station, I told him I would not change with any chaplain in India.

At Chandapore four of us one morning started for a walk over the sands. We took no shoes nor stockings, and had our trowsers tucked up to the knees. How we did laugh at eyeing ourselves! we were like a set of merry boys. Every now and then one of us would step upon a quicksand and sink down half up his legs, and have to scramble out. Then, as we ran along in the water about six or eight inches deep, we would suddenly see two or three sea-scorpions, and run away, or perhaps slip or stumble over a piece of rock, and then down we came, and all roared with laughter, and then the magistrate sang out,—

“ There was an old man at Barbago,
He lived upon nothing but sago ;—
Oh ! how he did jump,
When a doctor said, plump,
‘ To a roast leg of mutton you may go.’ ”

I caught a couple of the sea-scorpions ; they do not sting, but cut with the edge of their tails, and it is said that the wound is incurable. They are covered with a hard shell.

There is a great deal of illness about now, although the weather is most delightful : the thermometer seldom above 80° ; the morning quite chilly. I am very well ; the only complaint I have is that of getting exceedingly fat. I think I have mentioned our relief fund. There are a number of poor Christians here who have lived by beggary, stealing, and all sorts of wretchedness. We are trying to induce them to work, and give them materials, and purchase at a high rate what they produce, and I quite hope our plan will succeed.

You would have laughed to have seen me to-day, surrounded by a crowd of half-black women, measuring out prints and calicoes for dresses, &c. ; I being obliged to do it, as my wife was poorly. The things they make are to be given, as rewards, in our new Christian school.

Barriore, November 28, 1843.

How extraordinary does this utter solitude appear ! I have just been outside the bungalow : there is none of that confused murmuring sound which is almost universal in England. Every noise is distinctly heard : a child's voice, or a dove's coo, appears to break the intensity of the silence. And then, the thought that, excepting a few barbarians, there is not a human being within a day's journey ! The whole feeling is exciting, but oppressive. Millions of black heathens interpose between me and a single European ; and yet, with one brace of pistols and a good thick stick, I feel myself perfectly secure. But I will give an instance of the power which each European possesses over these people.

When I went to Balasore with the L.'s, we had four palanquins, and consequently forty bearers. At one place, where we stopped to change men, Mrs. L. sent a man to my palanquin to say that she wanted to speak to me. I at once walked across to the spot where her palanquin stood. The night was as dark as pitch, with a nasty drizzling rain. The red flaming torches disclosed a group of from eighty to a hundred natives, with their long black hair and immense mustachios, naked, except a cloth round their loins.

As we changed bearers here, there was of course a double set present. We had four palanquins—one containing a native nurse and three of Captain L.'s children; another, Captain L. and one child; another, Mrs. L.; and the fourth was my own. On one side of the road was a dense thicket, or jungle; on the other, a deep canal, called by the natives a "nullah;" and these, as well as the dusky group, were flittingly lighted by the torches of the mussalchees. Every man, as is the custom, had a long stick in his hand. We were many hours' journey from any European; Captain L. was totally enfeebled by sickness; and, in short, I was the only person who could have attempted to knock a man down.

But mark the power of white skin (not but that mine is getting somewhat mahogany colour): when I bent down to learn what Mrs. L. wanted, she was too faint and weak to speak loud, and the abominable babbling of the hundred men about us prevented the possibility of my hearing what she said.

"Choop ruho!" (keep quiet) I called out, but to no effect. "Choop ruho!" I bawled, but still to no avail; I could not hear what Mrs. L. said. Suddenly I snatched the stick out of the hand of the man next me, just gave it a little flourish, and jumped into the middle of the crowd. "You want the whip, eh?" I shouted. "Choop ruho, will you?" (for a word or two of English generally slips in either at the beginning or the end of a hasty sentence). In one instant there was a dead silence: not a word of resistance, or even insolence. Mrs. L. was weak and faint, and it seemed she wanted a glass of wine-and-water; this detained us a little time, but as long as we remained there

I found that, even if a whisper arose, the single word "Choop" was sufficient to quiet it directly.

Now, some people may say, here is a long story about nothing, or rather about getting a glass of wine-and-water; but I wish you to observe everything that takes place. Now, the nullah and the jungles, and the torches and the palanquins, are no great wonders in themselves, but together they make a pretty picture, or rather a striking one; and so through life you will find that every half-dozen things that you observe will either form, or assist in forming, some picture in your minds, which will certainly prove amusing or useful, or both.

Then, again, suppose I had told you that I desired the men to be quiet, and they obeyed me: that would have been much shorter, but it would not have led the mind on to any other train of thought; whereas the narrative, as I have related it, suggests many ideas which, if followed up, would fill whole pages; for instance—

1st. Why did the men dread the whip, when they were equally well armed?

2nd. Are they accustomed to feel it?

3rd. Are they generally oppressed, and in what way; and would a native government be an advantage to them?

4th. In what does that superiority consist which makes one hundred Hindus afraid of one European?

5th. What is civilization? What is the difference between *real* civilization, and that knowledge of arts and sciences, of railroads and balloons, which is commonly dignified with the name? And also what is the connexion between real, true civilization and religion?

Here are a few out of numberless trains of thought and questions which might arise, and do naturally arise, from the little anecdote I have given. Now, suppose I had said, "At one stage Mrs. L. said something to me which I could not well make out on account of the noise the men made; however, I soon quieted them, and then found that she wanted some wine-and-water." That description would have given no idea of what actually took place, neither would it have afforded any subject for after consideration.

It was bitterly cold last night. I had on cloak, trowsers, a flannel jacket next my skin, a thick coat buttoned up to my neck, a double blanket over me, and both doors of my palkee shut. Yet I awoke about four o'clock this morning shivering with the cold, and was glad to get out and have a good run of two or three miles, flapping my arms against my sides, to restore the warmth. Mrs. Acland has complained of the cold for the last two days, even at twelve o'clock at noon. The fact is, people here become so accustomed to intense heat that they often find the cold weather very trying, and the hot season is notoriously the most healthy part of the year, though I fancy it is now as warm as an English summer.

Poor Mr. B., with whom we stayed while at Pooree, has had an attack of the terrible jungle-fever, and will, I fear, be obliged to return to England. A sick person, at least in my district, is quite a rarity: all the diseases are so rapid in their operation, that a week's illness is considered a long time. If it is violent, the patient generally dies in a few hours, or at most in two or three days; if slight, he is by that time convalescent, and generally proceeds at once either to the Cape of Good Hope or to England.

Cuttack, December 10.

I HAVE been to Midnapore and back again. Whilst I was at Balasore information was brought in that one hundred and fifty or two hundred elephants had come down into the paddy-fields about twelve miles from Balasore, and that they were destroying the crops. Two or three of the Europeans there wanted to make up a party to go and attack them; I should very much like to have gone with them, but could not afford the time; so the proposition fell to the ground.

It is dangerous sport, but very exciting. The elephant is invulnerable except at one point, and that is a small hollow in the middle of the forehead. I said invulnerable, but that is an improper word; I mean, that that little spot is the only point where you can hit him fatally. Fancy an enormous elephant

charging at full speed down a narrow path, with dense jungle on either side, and the sportsman standing still till he comes almost close, and then aiming at the forehead. Suppose he misses the one little spot—the elephant seizes him with his trunk, dashes him to the ground, and then kneels upon and crushes him; that is to say, if it is a fierce male elephant. The tusks of a large one are worth fifty pounds.

The sight of the dead pilgrims by the roadside in this part of India is very dreadful; they go to Juggernat'h by hundreds, or rather by thousands. At the grand festival in June this year, when the car of Juggernat'h is dragged from the temple to his country house, there were present at least eighty thousand pilgrims from all parts of India, who each make large offerings to the idol, and during their stay are not allowed to eat any food but what has been prepared in the temple by the priests. Of course, for this food a most exorbitant price is charged, and at the same time it is of so inferior a quality that numbers died of cholera in consequence of eating it. Many of the pilgrims when they leave Pooree have not a pice left, and literally lie down and die of starvation by the roadside. The instant they are dead they are surrounded by jackals, dogs, and vultures, who quickly peel all the flesh from the bones: it is a horrid sight, but one which is too frequent to create surprise.

To the support of this temple our Christian government pays 6000*l.* a-year, whilst at other places it supports one, two, or more priests. Some will scarcely understand all the arguments by which this pernicious support of idolatry is defended. The principal reason given is, that, when we took possession of the country, we found a number of heathen temples, supported out of the produce of certain lands which were appropriated to their service; and that we, having taken possession of those lands, are bound to support the same temples by money derived from our own revenue. When the Roman Catholics conquered a country, their first object was to extirpate idolatry; when the Mohammedans waged war, they did it in order to destroy the idols of the heathens; but we encourage and protect all those wicked and evil superstitions.

Terrible as is the sight of the mutilated bodies of the pilgrims, it is not to me half so shocking as their thanks when they are relieved. As I travel, some poor wretch, who has more the appearance of a skeleton than a human being, comes to the side of the palanquin, and cries in Hindustanee, "Oh, great king, have mercy! I have been to Juggernat'h, and I have no rice. I have not tasted food, O great king, for three days. Oh, great king, give me some cowries to buy some rice!" I give the man a pice or two, and then he exclaims, "May Juggernat'h bless you, O great being! May Juggernat'h make you prosperous!" This invocation of a blessing from an idol sounds most frightful. The horrors of the roadside scene I will not describe—they are too fearful.

The above account reminds me of the exaggerated manner of expression in use among the Eastern nations. I will give another instance of it, premising that it is the usual style of language employed by the natives towards their European masters. At Midnapore, the other day, I wanted to call on the commanding officer; I accordingly got into a tanjore,—that is, the body of a gig, supported on two poles, and carried by men. As they took me up, I told them to go to the Colonel Sahib's; they spoke together for a few minutes, and then one of them said in Hindustanee, "O representative of God, your slaves do not know where the Colonel Sahib lives."

"Well, do you know where the Salt-Agent Sahib lives?"

"Yes, O representative of God."

"Then take me there."

I had turned away a domestic for being impertinent—a case of very rare occurrence amongst the natives. He was my own personal attendant, and an excellent servant, but I would not allow him to be insolent, and therefore discharged him at once. For weeks this man stood at the gate of my compound, ran for miles by the side of my palanquin when I went out in it, and, if he saw me walking, threw himself on the ground at full length before me, extending his hands clasped over his head, and then crept or rather glided on his stomach close to me, kissed my feet, placed them on his head, and, whilst the tears ran from his

eyes, exclaimed in Hindustanee, "O great being! O representative of God, have pity on your slave! punish me, whip me, but let me be your slave, O great king!" One day he brought his two little boys with him, and made them also kneel at my feet. He was an old man with a long beard, and he rubbed it in the dust, and cried and sobbed. I looked at his sons, and thought of my own children, and, as I considered he had been sufficiently punished, I told him to get up and I would try him again. He raised himself on his knees, and kissed the hem of my garment.* He is now the most useful servant I have. He is a sheikh—Sheikh Ibrahim is his name, and he had served every one of my predecessors, the chaplains at Cuttack.

I do not know the names of all my servants, but I will mention a few. Ibrahim is my sirdar, or valet, and chief man; my bearer is Maqua (which, by the way, is a name in use amongst the Indians in North America); my water-carrier is Rangore; my watchman, or chokedar, Sieboo; my sweeper, Ramoo. These last four are allowed me and paid for by Government: I give them a trifle in addition to their regular pay. The cook, or bowachee, is Callipar; and the table-servant, or khitnutgar, is Pekhoo. We only keep one table-servant; every one else keeps two, and many four or five. My syce, or groom, is Saitor; I do not know the names of the coachman, grass-cutter, tailor, and carpenter, nor of my wife's woman-servant, or ayah, as she is called. I think these are all our domestics, except the dobee, or washerman, but I do not know his name.

I believe every one in Bengal keeps more servants than I do. In the Madras presidency not nearly so many are required, as one there will do the work of three here. I do not know how it is in Bombay. I suppose it is on this account that in the Bengal presidency we receive higher pay than in the other parts of India. I said that I kept fewer than most people, but I certainly think I am better served than those who keep double the number, and I attribute it to this: I never beat my servants; I scold them, but do not strike them: and I be-

* This man continued most faithfully attached till his master's death, and was then inconsolable.

lieve that they exert themselves very much in order that they may remain with me on that account, for the cruelty practised by many towards their domestics is most shocking. Yet I firmly believe that I am better served, and, if I may use the expression, really loved, for that very reason.

When a servant is ill it is usual to stop his wages entirely: this I think wrong, and I therefore only stop half, which is another inducement to them to exert themselves in order to remain with me. I will give an instance of the sort of exertion to which I allude. When I packed the last box for England, my carpenter was ill; my cook is a very handy sort of man, so I called him, and desired him to nail up the box; he did it without a moment's hesitation. Almost any other cook would rather have left his situation than have done what he did not consider his work.

Again, I do not know any other person who can get one man to wait on both the sahib and the mem. My khitmutgar not only does this, but also cleans my gun, and sometimes goes out shooting with me; when he is thus engaged the cook supplies his place. These are the advantages of kindness.

It is a common saying that the Hindus have no sense of gratitude, that they have not even a word to express that feeling in their language. I do not believe it, and will give you a case in point. When we are going to travel we pay the money for the bearers into the hands of the postmasters beforehand; he then orders the men to be ready at each stage, and he subsequently sends them their pay. At one stage, as I was going to Midnapore some time ago, the men complained to me that they had not received their money for many months. I questioned them, and, finding their story probable, I promised to speak to the postmaster, and also offered to carry a petition from them to him. This I did; there had been a fault somewhere, but not, I believe, with the postmaster. However, the poor men got their money.

Since that time, whenever I go along the road, as soon as I come to that place a man calls out, "Here is the kind sahib that took our letter for us;" and although the stage is ten

miles in length, yet they carry me over it in less time than it takes me to go a six-mile stage elsewhere. My palkee is a heavy one, but they literally run as fast as they can the whole way; and two additional men always go with them without asking for any pay. Is not this something like gratitude?

They are said to be extremely dishonest—I mean the natives generally. This also I deny; although their treatment by individuals is enough to make them so; for on the part of Government the error—if any—lies in an excess of mildness and lenity. I would not hesitate, if it were necessary, to intrust a thousand rupees to a servant to take to Calcutta: that is for him a fifteen days' journey. Yet, if he chose, he might easily get beyond my reach; and such a sum would be sufficient to purchase an estate which would render himself and his descendants landed proprietors and gentlemen. I doubt whether you could say more than that for English honesty; although, of course, there may be exceptions here as well as there.

After I left Jelasore the other day, I remembered that I had omitted to lock my patarahts or tin travelling-boxes. There were many valuable things in them, and when I reached the first stage they had not then come up; yet I proceeded day after day for one hundred and fifty miles without the slightest uneasiness; and these patarahts, which had passed through the hands of sixteen men successively, all of the poorest class and each one alone, arrived at Cuttack in safety one day after myself. I should not have felt so easy had this occurred in England. But enough of this subject for the present.

I was riding out with two friends a few days ago near Bala-sore, when we saw a cavalcade approaching, consisting of several armed men, some on horseback others on camels. We inquired who they were, and learned that it was the escort of Bheere Singh, who had been on a pilgrimage to Juggernath. We joined the Rajah and had a long gossip with him.

The first salutation was a salaam on both sides, that is,—we bowed almost to the necks of our horses, pressing the palms of our right hands against our foreheads. The Rajah, being more

polite, or having better command of his horse, salaamed with both hands. I shall describe the man, because, judging from the present state of his country, it is possible that he may hereafter figure in the history of India. He appeared about forty years of age, strongly built, but not very tall; large black whiskers, and the universal moustache, which, however, was smaller than usual. There was much fire and animation both in his eyes and gestures; I should say also that his look betrayed a cunning and intriguing spirit. He was evidently unwilling to say much concerning the disturbances which have recently taken place in his country, but was most anxious to hear our opinions. He said he had seen the burra lord (great lord), Ellenborough, as he came through Calcutta; and I wondered whether the real object of his journey might not have been to see and speak with the Governor-General rather than to perform his devotions at Pooree.

But one thing struck me especially, and it is a thing highly to the credit of our Indian Government. Pointing to his retinue, he said, "This I very much admire. In my own country and all the native states (that is, states governed by native rajahs), if I were to go to sleep, I must set my guards round me with their arms in their hands, and I dare not ask a stranger to carry a thing for me lest he should run away with it. But directly I come into the Burra Beebee Company's territories" (the East India Company is called the Burra Beebee, or the great lady, by all the natives), "directly I come into their territories, although they are so vast, so immense, from sea to sea" (and he stretched forth his hands in every direction), "directly I come there, if I am weary, I can go to sleep under any tree by the roadside, and I can tell all my guards to go to sleep also. If I want anything carried, I can say to the stranger 'Carry it,' and I know it is safe. Oh! the Burra Beebee Company is a very good great king."

And most assuredly it is so. Wherever we come we give sound laws, and the people find peace and comparative happiness. Under the native rajahs all is anarchy, bloodshed, and oppression. Would that the whole of India were under our sway, and that our Government would seek, by firm and decisive measures, to introduce the blessings of Christianity amongst the

thousands and millions of their heathen subjects! I consider these few words of Bheere Singh to confer far more real honour on our Government than all their victories.

How little one knows in England of the pleasure of meeting with an acquaintance! The other night, as I was travelling and just dozing in my palanquin, I was roused by a loud voice—"Hulloh, Acland! what, is that you?" I was out of my palkee in an instant, and Mr. C., of Talacore, jumped out of his. What a break in the monotony of the road! and yet there was one great unpleasantness about it, and that was, we were obliged, after a few minutes' gossip, each to return to his own solitary palanquin. He produced some oranges; we sucked one or two, and then separated.

Cuttack, December 25, 1843.

YESTERDAY morning Captain W. sent to ask me whether I would go out into the jungle with him and try and get some hares. I did not feel much inclined; as my yearly supply of stores, such as wine, beer, candles, vinegar, &c. &c., had just arrived from Calcutta. However I thought that perhaps I should see something which might amuse me, so I went. At three we started on our ponies across the tedious sands to the river. The water we crossed in a boat, and then remounted and rode for some distance into the jungle: at last down we got. We had fourteen men with us to beat the jungle.

We walked along through the wildest scenery, looking for hares, until we arrived at Choudwar—at least that I believe to be the name of the place I described once before, which I said reminded me much of the ancient Petra. There are several long deep ravines filled with dense jungle; the sides composed of perpendicular black rock, a sort of iron-stone, in some parts of which steps have been cut; and in other places great blocks are lying about irregularly, or forming the foundations of the houses of the ancient inhabitants.

We had found no game of any sort except porcupines, which

abound here. At last we came to a ravine of the shape of an acute triangle. The lower line was a perpendicular face of rock of perhaps forty feet in height, the other line was a steep slope, and all the hollow was filled with thick jungle. Captain W. and myself were standing about the middle of the lower line, and we ordered the men that were with us to go down and beat the bushes in the hollow.

As they went down I observed to Captain W. that I thought it looked a likely place for something rather larger than hares. He replied that the men said there were no wild beasts about here. He had hardly done speaking when we heard the most frightful snarling growl proceeding from the bushes down at the farther point of the angle. "A tiger!" screamed the men, and ran off in every direction as fast as they could. "Give us the guns with ball," shouted we; for those in our hands had only small shot, and the men behind us held our other guns. "It is a great hyæna!" shouted I, as with another growl an enormous one sneaked out of the bushes up the bank opposite to that on which we stood. Bang! went the Captain's gun and mine at the same time;—down fell the brute, up again, turned round, yelled, and screamed, inclined to make a rush at us. Bang! bang! again with the other barrels, and with a scream the animal bounded off on three legs, his hind thigh having been broken by one of our balls. "Powder! powder, quickly!" was the cry, and our men handed us the powder and balls: we reloaded as quickly as possible, our hands trembling with excitement.

"Give chase!" I shouted, and off we set as hard as we could run towards the other bank, where the beast was still running, and turning every now and then to snarl at us. "Coolies, drive him hither!" cried Captain W., and on we bounded; but the coolies were not at all willing to obey the command, and so we had a long chase. "I'll fire; you mind him if he turns," exclaimed W. Bang! A yell from the hyæna; and down he rushes towards me. Bang! he's down—no—up again. Another shot from Captain W., and over he tumbles and is dead in a few minutes.

The excitement of such a chase is very great. I was hot and

tired, and also fat ; but when I saw the enormous brute all was forgotten, and I leaped down the rocks, scrambled up the hills, and bounded over the bushes, as if I had been a boy.

The hyæna is a cowardly animal, although he has immense strength both of jaw and paw. Had this been a tiger, he would at the first wound have flown at us, and perhaps killed us before we had time to load again ; but the hyæna rarely turns upon the hunters unless he sees that all escape is hopeless. I had no idea that these animals were so large. This was little if at all less than a full-grown tiger. He did not spring out like the latter would have done, but sneaked along as if he thought his horrid ugliness would protect him.

As we were coming home over the sands, I asked Captain W. if he did not mean to discharge his gun before he went in. " Yes," said he, " and there is a target," pointing to a large black pariah dog, which was feasting on some rotten carrion at a considerable distance. We dismounted, took our guns, and Captain W. fired. The ball struck the sand between the animal's legs, and he stared round him as if to know what it meant. Captain W.'s next shot struck the sand close to the dog's nose. Off he started, when I raised my gun and fired, and he rolled over dead. This was a useless piece of cruelty ; the killing the hyæna was right, because these animals do much mischief among the cattle, and will also carry away young children ; but the dogs are in a great measure our scavengers, and carry off all sorts of filth.

The only other things we fired at were some jackals and a white-headed falcon. The former we missed ; the latter I killed. The miner is a pretty bird, of which I have before spoken. I consider it good eating, although most persons have a prejudice against it, as not being a very clean feeder. They fly in large flocks. The other day, with a small charge of shot, I killed five at once. The parrots are very destructive to the fruit, especially the custard-apple ; I therefore frequently shoot them in my own garden.

Cuttack, January 2, 1844.

I HAVE been to Pooree; but what I am going to relate now is an adventure, not of my own, but of some valiant officers of the regiment stationed here. The Captain, the Lieutenant, the Ensign, and a Serjeant, went out for a day's shooting; and I had the story from two separate individuals of the party. They rode to the ground, and then skirted for some time along the side of the dense jungle. At last the Captain says—"Well, I am tired; I shan't go any farther. Bring me my camp-stool." Fancy a man's taking a camp-stool when he goes out to hunt or shoot! However, down he sat; and the other three proceeded some way farther. At length the Lieutenant says—"Well, I am tired; I shan't go any farther. Give me my camp-stool." Down he sat; and on went the other two, until the Ensign said—"Well, I am tired; I shan't go any farther. Give me my camp-stool." And he sat down.

The Serjeant, with one native, now proceeded down a narrow path which led into the jungle. He had not been gone more than five minutes when the Ensign heard the report of a gun, and the next instant the Serjeant rushed out of the jungle, without his hat, without his gun, with his mouth wide open, eyes staring, and hair all on end. "What's the matter, Serjeant?" cries the Ensign. "A tiger, sir," says the other, without stopping. "A tiger?" "Ay." Down goes the Ensign's gun over his camp-stool, and off he starts after the Serjeant as fast as his legs can carry him. "Hulloh!" exclaims the Lieutenant, as they came rushing towards him: "why, what's in the wind now?" "A tiger! a tiger!" they shout. Down goes the Lieutenant's gun, and he quickly joins in the race. "What in the world are you all after?" cries the Captain, as they came to where he was comfortably sitting, drinking a bottle of beer, and smoking a cigar. "A tiger! a tiger! a tiger!" is again the reply. "Pooh, pooh, nonsense!" said the Captain, moving slowly towards his horse. "Nonsense!" answered the fugitives; "we tell you there is a tiger down there: go and see yourself." "No, I am tired," says the Captain; "I shall go home." And he jumped on his horse, and, followed by

his brave comrades, galloped back to Cuttack. How the natives did grin and chuckle. They, too, had seen the frightful monster, and knew that it was a poor harmless jackal which had put to flight the Captain, and the Lieutenant, and the Ensign, and the Serjeant!!!

But there is moral to this tale. Another officer asked the Serjeant afterwards why he ran away? The answer was, that he ran at first because he was alone and unsupported, and that he ran afterwards because he saw the officers run. And this will ever be the case. If the officers show a firm front, so will the men: if the officers waver or hesitate, it will naturally strike a panic into the minds of those who are accustomed to look up to them for guidance. Remarkable instances of both these positions we have recently had at Jelhalabad and Kabul.

I start on Friday next for Balasore. I go principally for the sake of exercise and shooting. There are a great many bears there. My wife has just hired a new woman-servant. She is of the Ooriah Mehanee caste, and therefore may not wear petticoats, but only the common native dress. Now, all ladies like their own personal servants to wear petticoats; but here it is so strictly forbidden, that the woman, if she were once to put them on, would be deserted by her husband and children, and never be suffered to eat with any of her tribe. But then the Hindu law, whilst it is thus severe on any breach of caste, provides an easy mode of getting over the difficulty. My wife gives the woman eight shillings: the woman gives half of this to the priest, and with the other half she provides a feast for her tribe. After this she may wear her petticoats in peace and security.

Barriore, January 5, 1844.

THERE is one part of the sands at Pooree, on which if you stand about the middle of the day, and look towards the north, you are surprised to observe in the distance an English town. You see several three-storied houses, with doors and windows: interspersed here and there are several very English-looking trees; and at a

short distance, standing on a small hill, you see the ruins of a large castle, with the green ivy clinging to it in many parts. Often have I stood and gazed upon this scene, for it reminds me of dear England. And yet, if you go to the place, what do you suppose you find? Nothing but one long flat bed of loose sand, without one vestige of a tree.

The appearance is caused solely by the refraction of the rays of light. To explain this I will give an example. If you hold a stick so that the lower part is in the water and the upper part in the air, the stick will appear to be bent at the point where it passes the surface of the water; or, place a shilling in a cup or basin, so that you cannot see it because the side of the cup hides it from you, fill the cup with water, and then you will see the shilling, although it is still in the same spot it was in before. This bending of the rays is what is called refraction, and is caused by the rays passing out of one transparent thing into another which is more or less dense than the first. I think that the cause of the mirage at Pooree is this. Hot air is less dense than cold air. The steam which comes from a kettle is still water, but it occupies a much larger space than the water did. One kettle of water will give much more than a kettlefull of steam, so that it is evident that the heat has made the water occupy a much larger quantity of space. Still the steam is only water; therefore it must be much less dense than cold water. If you filled a saucepan with water, and fastened the lid down, so that no steam could escape, it would burst it: the particles of heat cause the particles of water to be less closely connected together. But that is a subject too abstruse for this work.

Well, hot air, like hot water, is less dense than cold air; also water is more dense than air. You could not run along as quickly in the water as you could in the air; you could not strike a person with your hand under water hard enough to hurt him; and this is because the water is more dense or solid than air: therefore, air with a good deal of moisture in it is more dense than when dry. But along the hot sands of Pooree, close to the sea-shore, there must be a great deal of heat and also a great deal of moisture.

In the direction in which you look to see the mirage I mentioned, there is a small piece of stagnant water from which much moisture must arise under the burning heat of the sun ; consequently there must be much refraction in all directions. And this is seen in looking the right way from all parts of the Pooree sands ; and from the particular point to which I have alluded, this picture, owing, I suppose, to certain marks in the sand, assumes the appearance of a castle, houses, &c. All this is a very rough explanation ; but it may serve to give you some idea of the probable cause of the mirage. Ships have sometimes appeared to be sailing in the air from the same cause ; and distant coasts, which were far below the horizon, have been distinctly seen by means of the refraction.

Guzzeepuddee, 8 miles from Balasore, January 12.

YESTERDAY morning about four o'clock we started from Balasore on horseback. The party consisted of the magistrate, the surgeon, and myself. It was a brilliant moonlight, but somehow I thought I should like to finish my night's rest, and therefore soon got into my palanquin, and had a most comfortable nap. I was awakened at daybreak by my bearers stopping and telling me that they did not know the way to Guzzeepuddee. I got out of my palanquin, loaded my gun, inquired my way of the first native I saw, sent my palanquin on, and then with two servants entered the jungle. Whereabout the magistrate and the doctor were I had not the slightest idea. I had a delightful ramble through a jungle, many of the natives following me from each village through which I passed, and appearing to take great interest in the success of my sport.

I went on, with my broad-brimmed hat and brown leather gaiters, followed by twenty or thirty black fellows, forcing my way through the thickest, densest shrubberies, thinking at every instant that I might come suddenly on a large bear. Every now and then a break would occur in the jungle, and I would emerge from the tangled thicket into a broad open space of three or four

acres, covered with the smoothest turf, interspersed here and there with the graceful bamboo, and surmounted on all sides with a literal wall of trees and underwood. On their branches sat the splendid wild fowls and the beautiful peacocks, whilst from all sides I heard the soft cooing of the doves.

Then again I would find myself in a similar open space; but instead of the turf there was a broad sheet of water, with the red and white lotus-flowers floating on the surface, and the glittering white paddy-bin (a sort of small stock) stretching along the edge. A little farther on I came suddenly on a large jheel (a piece of shallow muddy water), with the heron and the pelican, and I think the spoonbill, standing on the sides and busily catching their breakfast of fish. Several of the most curious of the birds I shot, in order to preserve their skins, and occasionally, as a hare darted across my path, I would raise my gun and fire. But one bird I must describe more particularly.

I was standing by the side of a large jheel, when a native called out, "A bird, very good: look, sir." I looked in the direction in which he pointed, but could see nothing, and was going to scold him, when he said, "It will come." I continued watching, when presently I saw what appeared to be a long snake rising from the water. It was some little time before I could make up my mind that this was actually part of a bird, and by that time the long neck was again drawn under water, and nothing was visible.

I continued to watch, and presently, at some yards from the spot where it had before appeared, the same snaky form was again elevated into the air. It was almost like shooting at a reed, but however I raised my gun and fired. There was an instant struggle in the water, and then I saw the body of a large dark-coloured bird floating on the surface. Wishing to obtain the body, I turned to the natives and said, "The man that wants a pice, bring that bird to me." The pice is a little more than a farthing, but enough to find a family for a day. Six or eight boys and men dashed into the water, and there was a regular race, struggling and swimming in order to obtain the prize. One boy had just reached the spot, when suddenly it

disappeared; now the long neck rose in a different place, and again there was a rush to obtain the pice. The bird, which was evidently much wounded, began to move across the water, keeping its long neck about eighteen inches above the surface, no other part being visible. I was running round the banks to have another shot, when the bird suddenly rose, and, with its long legs extending behind, flew over the jungle. I saw it fall at a short distance, but the bushes were so thickly matted together that I could not get near the place.

As I advanced farther from Balasore, the natives of the village appeared, astonished at my appearance, many of them probably never having seen a white man before. Some stood still staring at me, others ran and hid themselves in their houses. At last I came to a large open space of a mile or more in diameter, and here a most singular scene presented itself. Throughout the whole extent of the space, large masses of black rock, perfectly smooth and rounded at the edges, rose at intervals to the height of twelve or sixteen feet, at an angle of about 70°. It appeared as if some mighty city had been swept over by a hurricane, and all the walls were tottering to their fall.

Some time after this, to my great satisfaction, I arrived at the tent, which had been sent there the day before, and found a plentiful breakfast ready, and the rest of the party anxiously awaiting my arrival. I had been nearly six hours on foot. Our tent is about eighteen feet square, with one pole in the centre, a table and chairs inside, and our palanquins, in which we sleep at night, standing under a sort of canvas verandah. There is another very small tent for a bath-room, and also a part composed of a single piece of canvas for the servants. The latter is about thirty feet long and fifteen broad.

And now let us look around the encampment. The immediate neighbourhood consists of rice-fields, from which the paddy has been cut. At about half a mile from the tents on either side is a thick jungle, and in the distance are the rugged and magnificent hills of the Neilghur, which I have already described.

At six o'clock in the evening the sun was just setting as we three sahibs returned from our day's shooting. The magistrate

is just washing his hands in a chillumchee, or brass basin, at the door of the tent. In the front-ground, on two chairs, are seated the doctor and myself; the former is having his long leather gaiters or overalls pulled off. I have one foot in a chillumchee of warm water, the other resting on the black knee of one of my servants, who is shampooing and cracking each joint of the toes. Now he has done that, wiped the foot dry, put on the shoe, and is squeezing or kneading each muscle in the calf of the leg. No one but those who have experienced it can have any idea what a luxury this is when you are very tired!

Behind us stands a long-bearded turbaned khitmutgar, with sherry and glasses. Our guns are leaning against the side of the tent, our horses are picketed to a tree close by, and the grooms are busily rubbing them down. A hundred or a hundred and fifty black natives are separating into groups according to their castes, and are lighting fires all around in order to cook their dinners. Behind the servants' tent is a fire of charcoal, over which a black man is turning a hare, some partridges, a peacock, and several other results of our day's sport. Close by is another fire of wood crackling and sparkling, on which are stew-pans with salmon, oysters, &c. &c., which have come from England.

It grows late: the moon rises over the hills; the fires blaze up in all directions; I see the swarthy natives moving around them, and hear them chattering or singing their low monotonous song; everything looks wild; I begin to indulge in all sorts of reveries—when a man approaches with his hands clasped together, and, bending low before me, says “Cana meg” (dinner-table). The peacock takes the place of the reverie; visions of the partridges and oysters flit across my mind; and I run to help in demolishing a most substantial and well-earned meal. I then go to my palkee. The howling of the jackals does not awake me, I am too well used to it; but at last, about two o'clock in the morning, I was aroused by a sort of sniffing and a scratch at the door. I guessed at once what it was, and debated for an instant whether I should open it a little and try the effect of my pistols, or call out so as to rouse my companions, or lie still and leave him to

himself. I determined on the latter; as, supposing I had not killed him, my visitor might have come into my palanquin and killed me before I could get assistance. I therefore lay quietly with a pistol in my hand; and I felt much happier when I heard the bear at last trot off.

Barripore, January 16, 1844.

ON Friday morning the magistrate and myself determined to ascend one of the Neilghur hills. The doctor did not think it worth the fatigue, and therefore shot partridges and wild-ducks for our breakfasts. We started from our tents at about half-past five in the morning. For about four miles our road lay through jungle, similar to that I have already described.

As we emerged from this the effect was most extraordinary. We had been suffering much from heat, and the sudden exclamation of both of us was, "Oh, how very cold!" A chilling blast came down from the hills, which entirely altered the temperature of the air; and, moreover, the place where we now were can very rarely, if ever, be reached by the sun. These causes produce a most singular effect upon the vegetation. Behind us was a dense jungle of bamboos, brambles, cacti, &c., through which it was most difficult to force a passage. In front of us for nearly a mile—that is, extending to the foot of the hills—the appearance was altogether different: not a bamboo nor a cactus, not a bramble, scarcely even a thorn; the turf perfectly smooth; the only plants a sort of laurel and a species of wild-apple; and no two plants growing within four feet of each other. It was like a wilderness or a shrubbery in a gentleman's park. We found several marks of bears and also of elephants; and the natives were rather unwilling to proceed. However, we led the way, with our guns in our hands, and soon arrived at the foot of the hill. It rose very suddenly, and in many places we had to climb for several feet up the face of a smooth black rock, similar to that which I have already mentioned.

We had no adventures beyond a tumble or two, but it was a most fatiguing work; and the instant we reached the top we

threw ourselves down and called for a cigar and a glass of beer. This hill, which is much the lowest of the whole range, is not, I suppose, more than five hundred feet in height: it rises to a peak, the extreme top being about six feet in diameter. Here we fired off our guns as a signal to the doctor, and then commenced our descent.

At the bottom we were very glad to mount our horses and ride back to the tent. It was a very clear morning, and you can hardly imagine the wild magnificence of the scene from the top. Behind us lay the thick jungle through which we had passed, with Balasore in the distance, and the sea forming the background; in front, a wilderness of brushwood, extending as far as the eye could reach; to the right was a winding river, bordered by the graceful bamboos, with native villages and patches of rice-fields on its banks; whilst to the left, from the midst of the thickets, rose abruptly the other hills, towering to the height of several thousand feet. All these ranges belong to tributary rajahs, and are not the property of the English. We were delighted with our excursion, and it has led to the proposal of another; which we hope to accomplish, with the addition to our party of the doctor and the master-attendant, as soon as I return from Cuttack.

This second expedition is to be to the highest point visible from Balasore. No human being has ever yet ascended it, and the natives pretend that it is impracticable; however, we mean to try. I should like to set my foot where no man has ever trodden. We shall go well armed with guns, pistols, and swords; we are also each to carry a hatchet and a billhook, to cut our way through the jungle.

We intend to take a barometer and thermometer in order to measure the height, and go well attended by natives. It is said that this hill is tenanted by all sorts of wild beasts, but we shall be too well armed to fear them. The inhabitants are a very savage race, and offer up human sacrifices; but they will hardly dare to attack white men. I am very fond of these excursions; the exercises I consider good for me—whilst at Guzzeeputdee I was ten or eleven hours on my feet each day; and another

great advantage is, that they cost nothing beyond the price of powder and shot. I must now start for Cuttack. I found in the jungle the skeleton of a small boa constrictor: it is perfect except the lower jaw. I told one of my servants to take care of it. When I returned to Balasore he had lost it; I said, if he did not find it again I should deduct a rupee from his month's wages. His answer was, "O representative of God, you are the father and the mother of your slave, and you must do with him as you think fit." However, he managed to find the skeleton.

Midnapore, February 1, 1844.

WHEN I returned to Cuttack the last time I found that my wife had been rather poorly for some days; I therefore determined that I would take her out for a little excursion. We accordingly sent out a tent and all necessary apparatus, and then started with some friends of ours—a Captain of Engineers and his wife, and a couple of children—to explore two of the most extraordinary places in India, Bhabaneswar and Cundegane. At the former there are nine hundred and ninety-nine temples, besides numerous tombs, &c.: at the latter place some very high hills, perforated in every direction with artificial caves; a palace, statues, and animals, cut out of the solid rock; long inscriptions in some language now forgotten; images of gods, of which the Hindus know nothing.

The trip did my wife a great deal of good; but almost immediately after our return to Cuttack I was attacked by one of the fearful diseases of the country. Fortunately I knew what it was by the very first symptoms, and therefore went to the doctor at once. The disease is what we call *liver*; in England it is called, I think, inflammation of the liver. It is accompanied by a soreness in the side and acute pain in the shoulder. The doctor immediately took most energetic pains to reduce me both in size and in strength; and he succeeded so well that all danger was soon over. Directly I was better I was ordered change of air, starvation, and exercise.

February 15, 1844.

I FEEL quite well again : we start for the hills this afternoon. The party consists of seven Europeans and about one hundred natives. It happened rather curiously that the Rajah to whom the hill belongs called here this morning on business : he is a very intelligent young man. He has volunteered to accompany us, to supply us with elephants if we wish to hunt upon the plain, and to provide us an escort of five hundred men ; so we shall go in state. He rode a magnificent white horse with *pink eyes*. We each take a small axe, a pair of pistols, and two guns.

But before proceeding I would enter into more particulars concerning the excursion that we took for the benefit of my wife's health. On Monday we all started at half-past five in the morning—Captain R. and myself on horseback, and Mrs. R. and my wife in palanquins, having their ponies led by their side. We had about one hundred and twenty servants with us, Captain R. having a good deal of surveying and other work to do.

As we went along the road he stopped to inspect the different bridges, &c. We had one little adventure this morning. It seems that some months ago a beyraghee, or mendicant, sat himself down by the side of the road, a few miles from Cuttack, with nothing but an umbrella to shade him from the sun. There he remained for some weeks, subsisting on the charity of the pilgrims who were proceeding to Juggernat'h. I should have mentioned that our road lay, for a considerable distance, on the direct route for Pooree. After some time the beyraghee made himself a little hut of wickerwork, after the fashion of many of the Indian devotees. These baskets, as I may call them, are just large enough to contain a man in a lying-down position ; they are, in fact, mere coverings.

By degrees the basket became a good-sized mud hut ; then the beyraghee began to enclose a small piece of ground, which he cultivated, and built himself a granary of bamboo to contain the rice given him by the pilgrims. Now, although a man with an umbrella does not much matter, yet a hut with a little field, around which a village is likely enough to spring up, cannot be allowed upon the roadside, which belongs to Government.

The man had been warned, but paid no attention to what was said ; and accordingly, when we reached the spot, Captain R. directed the chuprapees, or Government messengers, to pull down the fence and destroy the hut, granary, &c. We sat on our horses while these men obeyed the order. In a quarter of an hour the whole was level with the ground. I knew that Captain R. was perfectly right, yet I could not help pitying the poor man, who came and laid himself down at our horses' feet, with his hands clasped over his head. Like many of the beyraghees, he was entirely naked. They are a worthless, wicked set of men, and peculiarly obnoxious to Europeans. It was a singular scene. Captain R. and myself, with our broad-brimmed hats, sitting quietly on our sturdy ponies ; a half-naked groom at the head of each ; the naked beyraghee at our feet ; and a dozen chuprapees, in the white native dress, with red badges, hewing the house and fence to pieces, and scattering the remains on all sides under the grove of mangoes with which the road was bordered. In the distance were the palanquins, whilst the wild song of the bearers faintly reached our ears.

Nothing of interest occurred after this until we arrived at Bengwharrie, a small village, where our tents were pitched under a grove, or, as we call it, a "tope," of splendid trees. I have already described the appearance of a private encampment ; the only difference here was that we had a greater number of men about us, and more tents. Mine contains one room, about twenty-four feet square ; in the centre rises the high pole which supports our canvas house. At each end are cloth doors, made to roll up. The tent has a double fly or covering, one much larger than the other ; it is like a small one inside a large one. This tends to keep it warm at night, and cool during the day ; the outer fly forms a verandah round the inner room. In the latter are two small camp bedsteads, a camp table, camp chairs, &c. By camp bedsteads, &c., I mean such as will double up for the convenience of carriage. In the verandah are our palanquins, a chest of wine, beer, &c., some cooling apparatus, and various other articles. At one side there is an entrance into a small tent, which serves for a bathing-room.

After breakfast we were very much interested in watching the monkeys. The tope swarmed with a grey species, some of which appeared almost as large as men. They are peculiarly sacred in the eyes of the Hindus, who imagine that one of their gods once assumed a similar form. They are called Hunnamuns, which was the name of that deity. My wife and I stood at the door of the tent watching them for hours; they do not appear to be afraid of men. Many of the females had young ones with them, and they came and sat down close to us with their little ones in their laps. First they would suckle them, then they would hush them to sleep, or turn them over and over, pulling off all the dirt that adhered to their skins, and making them clean and comfortable.

A little farther off you would see four or five males picking the fruit off a low bush, and chattering to one another all the time. Then a half-grown one would jump down, and give a hard pull at an old one's tail, for which he generally received a good box on the ear, unless he was nimble enough to get out of the way in time; presently one of the old fellows would get angry, and spring into the tree after his little tormentor, and a regular chase would ensue. The leaps they take are tremendous; they will often spring from the top of a lofty tree into the middle of the next without falling.

I saw one of the females shot; it was a cruel sight, and struck all the natives with horror. They refused to touch the dead body. The ball did not kill her instantly, and she cried piteously, whilst she pressed her little one to her bosom, and tried to get into the tree. To the last she would not relinquish her young one, and died in endeavouring to save it. I could not shoot a monkey, their actions and their cries are so like human beings. I know of a case in which an officer shot one, and the whole herd instantly sprang from the trees and attacked him; it was with difficulty he was saved. They are most interesting creatures.

In the evening I went out with my gun, accompanied by Captain R. I got nothing, however, but some doves and some crow-pheasants; the latter are not eaten by Europeans, though

much relished by the low-caste natives. It is a bird, as the name signifies, between a crow and a pheasant. The colour is black, tinged with a deep dull red. It has a long tail, and runs like a pheasant; but I believe that its food is the same as a crow's, that is, carrion and animal food.

On the Tuesday morning Captain R. was lazy, so I started by myself at six o'clock to try and get some jungle-fowl. When I say by myself, I of course mean with three or four servants. I, however, shot nothing but a few doves and one green pigeon. The latter is a large bird, of a pale-green colour, and is most delicious eating, which is more than can be said of any of the game in India. The partridges are dry and flavourless; the deer have literally not a particle of fat upon them; the hares are fit for nothing but soup. A leveret is good, and so is a very young peacock, but, old or young, they must be eaten the same day that they are killed. By the way, the black partridge is pretty good: it has a black neck, shading into deep red on the head; the back is dark; the breast and tail are most beautifully covered with minute white spots.

I may as well mention now that we shot the other day a double-spurred partridge; it was of a dingy red colour, with a crest on its head; the legs were bright red, and each armed with two long sharp spurs. As I walked along I observed a bird of a species which I had never seen before; I tried to shoot it, in order to have it stuffed, but missed, and sadly frightened some monkeys who were in the same tree. As far as I could judge, every feather was a bright blue, giving a most splendid appearance to the bird.

After breakfast Captain R. and I stood at the door of the tent amusing ourselves with his air-gun. I killed with it three or four birds, whose skins I should like to preserve; one especially, though I believe I have before described it, namely, the mango-bird. I fancy the European name is the golden oriole. It is of one uniform brilliant yellow, with the exception of the head, which is perfectly black. Its note is very peculiar, as indeed are the voices of many of the Indian birds. I cannot describe the sounds on paper, but I have learned to imitate many

of them well enough to hold a long conversation with them. Once or twice, when Captain R. wanted to get near to a bird without being observed, he asked me to continue talking to it. It is curious to observe them hopping from branch to branch replying to my call, and looking round on every side for the bird from which they suppose the sound to proceed.

On Tuesday evening Captain R. and I rode about four miles to try and find some peacocks. His pony had hurt its foot, so he took one of mine. We were going along quietly enough through some rice-fields, when suddenly the pony he was on shied; he spurred it, and it immediately reared and fell over backwards. Most fortunately he managed to throw himself off, so as to escape being under the horse, though, as it was, he got a heavy tumble. It is a very nice pony, a little inclined to rear; but I am too heavy for it to do so with me. I am getting thinner now. We came at last to a beautiful bit of bamboo-jungle, where we dismounted, inside of which was a paddy-field; in the centre were two fine cocks and five hens feeding. Beckoning to the servants to stay behind, I crouched down on the ground and crept slowly forward, until I came very near to the jungle-fowl, when I cautiously raised my gun to fire; from some cause or other it did not go off, though the cap exploded, and the birds flew away. Now, a regular Indian sportsman would not fire at a bird on the ground, but would first make a noise to frighten him, and would then fire as he was flying away; however, I am not practised enough for that, and like to get what they call a pot-shot whenever I can.

A little while ago a party of officers went out from Cuttack to shoot. Their men were beating the jungle, when suddenly all the wild cry ceased, and a man came gliding to where all the sahibs were standing to tell them that there was a tiger lying asleep in his den close at hand. A consultation was instantly held; most of the party were anxious to return to Cuttack, but Captain B. insisted on having a shot at the animal. Accordingly he advanced very quickly until he came to the place, when he saw—not a tiger, but a large leopard lying quite still, with his head resting on his fore paws. He went up close and fired, but

the animal did not move. This astonished him, and on examination he found that the brute was already dead. One of his companions had bribed some Indians to place a dead leopard there and to say that there was a tiger asleep. You may imagine what a laugh there was, though it was very wrong of the Europeans to encourage the natives to say what was not true.

Since then a large party has been out from Cuttack on a shooting excursion: they found five leopards, two sambres (the largest species of deer), and four of the Indian bisons or ghyal, of whose horns I have preserved a specimen. They however killed only one leopard.

But I must hasten on with my description. Captain R. and I proceeded into the jungle, where we heard several peacocks; we separated, creeping along in different directions. Presently I came to an open space where some pea-fowls were feeding, but we did not succeed in killing anything. The next evening we went to the same place, when Captain R. shot a peacock. Towards dusk I was creeping along, when suddenly I saw what appeared to me a fine peahen. I signed to my men to be quiet, got as near as I could, fired, and shouted to my followers to run and pick up the bird, for it was dead. An Indian servant rarely loses his gravity; but in this instance they could not restrain themselves when they found that instead of a pea-fowl I had knocked to pieces the skull of an old cow which had been half-picked by the vultures; in the dim light I had mistaken it for a bird.

The next day we proceeded about ten miles farther to Bhalmacottee; and on the day following, that is Friday, we started at five o'clock in the morning for Bhoehoneswar. On the way we passed the remains of a very large old fort built of hewn stone. In one of the moats, which was still full of water, I saw the remains of a pier of a bridge. Bhoehoneswar is a very ancient town, much more so than Pooree: it is celebrated for containing nine hundred and ninety-nine temples. The natives say that, had there been a thousand, Juggernat/h would have taken up his abode here; but as there were not he preferred having a new temple for himself at Pooree. The ancient city has disappeared, and the town only consists of a few hundred mud

huts. The temples however remain—some perfect, others in ruins; some facing the street of the modern town, others half hidden in the surrounding jungle. It is a wonderful place, and I hardly know how to describe it.

At one extremity of the town is a tank, about half a mile square, and of a great depth, entirely faced with huge blocks of black iron-stone. In the centre of this stands a small temple, whilst the sides are surrounded by others of greater or less size. At the end next the town an enormous flight of steps leads down to the water, where hundreds of pilgrims were hastening to wash themselves before entering the great temple. The farther end is bordered by a dense and lofty jungle, and in the distance is a splendid background of rugged hills.

After leaving the burrah tellores (great tank) we walked through a lane of temples, many of which were ruinous, until we came to the grand sacred edifice of the place. The form of this, as indeed of most of the others, is similar to that of Pooree. The temple of Bhohoneswar is however larger, the principal tower being about two hundred feet high. Like all the others, it is built entirely of stone, and every block is most elaborately carved. The various cornices, of elephants, horses, &c., are as beautifully executed as if they had been done by the best European artists. The fretwork is most delicate in its livery, and the many images, though representing grotesque figures, are admirably carved. The whole forms one mass of most splendid sculpture.

No description would enable the reader to form any idea of the magnificence of this building. Many of the blocks of stone are fifteen, twenty, and twenty-five feet in length, and thick in proportion. It would be curious to discover by what means they were ever raised to the height of above one hundred feet. This temple is still sacred, and we were therefore not allowed to enter it, but we examined the interior of several of the others. The lofty domes were evidently constructed by a people who were ignorant of the use of the arch; they are formed of overlapping stones, approaching nearer and nearer together until they reach the top, where the whole is surmounted by one enormous block.

We breakfasted in a small tent which we had sent forward to

Bhohoneswar, and then proceeded in our palanquins to Cundeegurree, a distance of about seven miles. This latter place consists of three hills surrounded by the most romantic-looking jungle. Our palanquins were set down in what may be called a forest, at the foot of the principal hill, and crowned by a small but very pretty white temple. These hills are perforated in every direction with caves of various dimensions, and reminded me most forcibly of the ancient Petra. Many of the caves are inhabited by devotees and priests. The god whom they worship is quite unknown to our Hindu servants: he is called Persilat'h, and is the god of the Jains, who were a powerful race that existed prior to the introduction of the Hindu religion. There are very few of them now remaining. The god is represented as a naked man, standing upright, with his arms hanging down by his sides. In many of the caves are small images of this deity beautifully cut in a dark-blue stone.

At the summit is a Jain temple, which has been rebuilt within the last two hundred years. The Hindus say that the caves are the works of demons. Above the entrances to many of them are long inscriptions in a forgotten tongue. Several of the letters appear to resemble the Greek; but most of them are different from any known language. The entrance to one of the caverns is through the mouth of an enormous lion's head, cut out of the solid rock: it is exceedingly well executed. The pillars about the doorway are also cut out of the solid rock. Within the lion's mouth is an inscription in two lines, which I copied.

Many of the caves are large and lofty, others very small: there are some not high enough for a man to stand upright: of these latter several have very small entrances; and in these are devotees who had vowed never to leave them alive. The wonder seems how they could ever have managed to creep in. I saw some of these holy men: one of them had entirely lost his sight; another had his right arm shrivelled, and fixed in an upright position, with the nails several inches in length growing through the palm of his hand. What suffering do these heathens endure for the sake of their religion, whilst we are so unwilling to do even a little to please the true God! Their superstitions are most

disgusting ; but they are a reproach to us, both for our inertness in attempting to convert the Hindus, and also for the contrast they afford to our self-control, who call ourselves Christians.

In the solid rock of these hills have been excavated some tanks ; but the most marvellous thing of all is the palace of the ancient rajahs. This, like all the rest, is hollowed out of the solid stone, and consists of two stories ; the lower comprises a good-sized square court, surrounded on all sides by large excavated chambers. Into this yard you are obliged to descend from above. The upper floor is similarly cut, except that a large portion of the rock has been cut away before the entrances were made to the chambers. The consequence is that there is a broad terrace, overlooking the rooms beneath, and upon which the several apartments of the upper story open. What labour must have been employed in making these extraordinary excavations ! The chambers are narrow, about twelve feet wide, but many of them are long ; speaking from conjecture, I should say that one of them was not less than forty feet, the length corresponding with the direction of the side of the quadrangle. The entrance-walls (if I may call them so) seem to have been much ornamented ; but what struck me most was a statue, cut, of course, out of the solid rock, and supporting one side of an ornamented entrance to one of the chambers. This statue, the natives say, is intended to represent the rajah who founded the palace : it is nearly the size of life and well preserved. The right arm hangs down by the side, the left is bent at the elbow, the hand resting on the hip. On the head appears to be a close helmet, with, I think, scales down each side of the face. The dress consists of a short shirt of scale armour reaching down to the thigh ; below this hangs a cloth skirt to the knees ; hanging from the shoulders behind is a short cloak resembling that worn by our modern horsemen ; round the waist is a sash or loose belt ; boots reaching half-way to the knees ; and at the side is a double-edged Roman sword. Now, to what nation or people such a dress as this can have belonged I cannot conceive. I feel confident that no people of India have ever worn such garments ; yet, when I look at this dress, and consider the Grecian nature of many of the letters in

the inscriptions, and the un-Indian appearance of the pillars in the lion's mouth, I cannot help asking myself whether it is possible that, when Alexander was stopped by the Affghans, any of his people ventured still farther into the country, and after various wanderings founded Cundeegurree, as conquerors of the district. Or, if I wish to turn my speculations in another direction, I may examine the dress, carved in stone, and that statue, and think of the name of the reputed founder Lalal, India, Kesari (quære Cæsar?). All this, however, is mere speculation, as I have no sufficient data at present by which to arrive at any conclusion. There is a much longer inscription very correctly copied in Stirling's 'History of Orissa.'

After spending a most interesting day at Cundeegurree we returned to Bhalmacottee, from whence my wife and myself came on to Cuttack on Saturday. I forgot to mention an animal that we killed; the natives called it a "goodee sampsnake," and said it was very savage and very venomous, though I imagine it was nothing but a guana. It is a sort of lizard, with a very tough scaly skin, about two and a half feet in length, head like that of a snake, forked tongue, sharp teeth, short legs, armed with long claws or rather talons. I have preserved and stuffed the skin.

A gentleman has just been here who told me an interesting anecdote about an elephant. A friend of his bought one, and went out hunting with a large party. The animal behaved very well all day; but in the evening, when they were going to take off the howdah, the mahout called to the Europeans to stand farther off, as the elephant appeared to be getting uneasy. He had hardly spoken when the animal made a rush forward, seized an unfortunate native, and began trampling upon him with his enormous feet; a chuprapee who ran forward was seized by the elephant, and flung to the distance of many feet into the river; the beast then raised the poor wretch he had been crushing, and threw him into the jungle, where he was found with not a bone unbroken; every limb was crushed: of course he died almost directly. The elephant then ran off, and for weeks was the terror of the country round—going into the villages, tearing down the houses to look for corn or rice. At

last he was caught, and sold to the king of Lucknow, in Upper India. I should mention that the only limestone hills in this part of India are those around Cundee gurree.

Pooree, May 26, 1844.

How little is known in England of what a thunderstorm is! At this minute (about ten o'clock in the evening) the rain is pouring down in vast sheets of water rather than in drops. For the last two hours the lightning has not ceased for a minute at a time, whilst the thunder has continued incessantly, varied occasionally by a tremendous crash which bursts immediately above the house and shakes it to its very foundation. Add to this the roaring of the sea and the howling of the wind, and some idea may be formed of the fearful noise now sounding in my ears. But the storm is, in one respect, more fearful here than elsewhere; at this station most of the European houses are blown down once in two or three years—a process which is anything but comfortable to the inhabitants, who are compelled to shiver through the night on the bleak sands, drenched with spray and rain, half covered with loose sand, and afraid to stand lest they should be blown away.

May 29.

I FIND that the depth of water which fell in the two hours and a half that the storm continued was one inch and a half, a quantity which in England, I believe, would not fall without many days of rain. But this is a delightful place. The difference of climate between this and Cuttack could hardly be conceived, and yet the distance is only fifty miles. At Cuttack, during the hot season of the year, the inhabitants are obliged to close every door and window at half-past six in the morning, in order to keep out the fearfully scorching heat, neither can they open them again till seven in the evening. "Although the air is

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kept in constant motion by the punkahs, yet, being confined, and also much rarified by the heat, it produces a stifling gasping sensation, which is most painful. At this time of the year too the mosquitoes come into the houses in great numbers, and we are therefore compelled to use the mosquito-curtains at night, which have no opening all round, and the lower edge of which is tucked in with the bed-clothes; you might almost as well be shut up in a box. The intense heat, and the quantity of bad air which necessarily accumulates under the curtains, cause continual headaches and oppression of the lungs.

Well, you start from Cuttack in the evening, arrive at Pooree the next morning, and what a change! The doors and windows are open all day; and although the thermometer generally stands at 89°, yet the incessant breeze off the sea prevents any inconvenience from the heat; indeed, we are sometimes glad to close the doors in order to keep out the air. At night a delicious fresh wind, which frequently renders a blanket necessary, no mosquitoes, no curtains. In the morning we can remain out of doors till eight; in the afternoon we can go out at five.

How rejoiced many persons would be to be able to spend their hot weather at such a place. There are, nevertheless, two great drawbacks to the comfort of Pooree. First, the European houses are all situated on a vast plain of loose sand, extending from the sea as far as the eye can reach in every direction; so that it is considered at Pooree quite impossible to walk. My wife, like most other ladies, rides in a tonjon, a sort of small cab, carried on men's shoulders. I and almost all the gentlemen ride on horseback, or rather ponyback. At Cuttack only rich civilians keep horses; all we poor men are content with ponies. I have three beauties: two of them, Birmah ponies, for the carriage, are of a large size, thick built, very strong, and highly valued on account of their hardihood. It is usual to keep their manes cropped close, but I like to see them long. One carries me very well; the other is a saddle-pony, which does either for my wife or myself. It is bay, with long black mane and tail, very sleek, with thin ankles and arching neck. Indeed, several people who have looked at him say he is the best-built horse

they ever saw. He is full of fire and play, jumps about, and every now and then stands upon his hind legs. But he will not bear to be annoyed by strangers. A friend of mine was riding him one day, and teased him so much that at last he reared and fell over backwards with him. The carriage-horses are what is called sorrel-colour.

The second drawback to the comfort of Pooree is rather a curious one, and is, I suppose, caused by the wind and the glare of the sun upon the sands. It is the impossibility for any one to keep awake during the day. Towards twelve o'clock an overpowering drowsiness comes on. Once or twice I have resisted it, and on those occasions I verily believe that in the evening, had I shut my eyes, I should have gone to sleep upon my feet. This is the universal complaint of all visitors to that place. The regular residents get over it.

Talking of the night reminds me of a general habit which would seem very odd to people in England. A person would imagine that everybody is very fidgety at night, and rolls and tosses about a great deal in the very hot weather. To render ourselves more comfortable at such times we have a number of pillows of all shapes and sizes and hardnesses scattered about the bed. At one roll you lay your leg on one and your arm on another, then you turn over to the other side, and then, throwing your feet on to one pillow, you hold another fast under your arm: that won't do, and you roll over on your back, with one pillow under your knee and another under each arm, and so on through the night. I can assure you that, however absurd it may appear, this multiplicity of pillows is a very great comfort on very hot nights, although when you awake you certainly often find yourself and them in very funny positions.

But now let us describe the journey up the hill, which is situated in the territories of the Rajah of Neilghur; that is, he pays tribute to the English, but governs his territory for himself. Just before we went there, by the advice of the masahibs or councillors, he had been into one of our villages making a great disturbance, whereupon the commissioner, a sort of governor of the district, sent for the Rajah, desiring him to come in to

Balasore and explain his conduct. I was with the commissioner when he arrived. The Rajah of Neilghur is a handsome intelligent-looking young man of about twenty. His estate brings him in a revenue of nearly sixty thousand rupees a-year. His brother, who is about two years younger, and full of fun and frolic, is always with him. They came to Balasore with a party of about thirty, three elephants, and twenty horses. The Rajah and his brother, with eight or ten of the masahibs, were ushered into the commissioner's room, where chairs were offered to the two former; the others remained standing. Of course all except the two young Rajahs took off their shoes before they entered the room. Mr. M., the commissioner, who, as I have told you, is the kindest of men, gave them a long quiet lecture, and strongly advised them to dismiss the masahibs and govern entirely for themselves; and he warned them that, if such disturbances occurred again, he should be obliged to send and take possession of the whole territory of Neilghur. They were very submissive and made what excuses they could, but which, in point of fact, amounted to none at all. At last they rose to take leave, and I with one or two others joined them.

I immediately told the Rajah that we were going over to Neilghur on the following day, and asked whether he would provide five hundred coolies to beat the jungle. The Rajah promised that he would procure us the coolies and elephants and make us comfortable. The party then mounted, and really it was a very pretty scene. Both the Rajahs and all their attendants were dressed in the purest white—full loose trowsers, white frocks open on one side of the chest, and white turbans. The younger brother wore a red sash, all the others white ones. The Rajahs had most splendid gold chains round their waists, and three very handsome rings in each ear. The eldest mounted first. His horse, which was very tall and strongly built, was an albino; it was perfectly white, with red eyes. The saddle, which for all natives is made deep and well padded, was covered and entirely concealed by a splendid crimson cloth extending from the shoulders to the haunches. It was surrounded by a deep gold fringe, and reached about half way to the ground on each

side. The young man laid his hand on the horse's shoulder, and at one vault sprang into the saddle, the cloth remaining on. This was the signal for every one to mount, and then they all began to show off. Their horses played all sorts of antics; they danced, and plunged, and reared, and capered about, though still under perfect control; indeed, it was evident that all these tricks were the result of education. After some minutes spent in this way, they suddenly started off at full gallop, and tore along at a tremendous rate as long as they continued in sight. They were followed by the elephants in a rough trot.

But I must say something more about these elephants. I was walking through the town with C. the evening before, when we saw the elephants coming towards us. We were both startled, if not alarmed. One of them is said to be the largest in India, and it really did look awful. The others, which were of the ordinary size, looked like young ones by its side. I had afterwards an opportunity of measuring it, and, if I remember rightly, its height was twelve feet eleven inches. It is very old, as Tippoo Saib rode it at Seringapatam. It is quite blind, and it is most interesting to observe its manner of walking or running. At each step its trunk swings from side to side, just touching the ground in front, so that the animal may know if there is any impediment in the way. A part near the end of the trunk is much worn away and quite hardened by this constant rubbing. His tusks are magnificent, but his body is little more than a skeleton covered with skin.

Whilst at Neilghur I saw this monster bathe. A boy took him down to a pond close to our tent. He led him by one of his tusks. When he reached the water, at an order from his attendant the elephant held out his trunk and the lad climbed up it until he reached his tusks. The elephant then raised his head until they were the highest part, when the boy slipped off them on the head itself. The animal then walked slowly into the water until it reached the top of his legs; at a signal from the boy he then lay down, whilst the lad kept on the head, scrubbing both that and his back. At another signal he sank himself lower and lower, until only his trunk and the head and

shoulders of the boy were visible. It seemed to enjoy it very much, and was almost unwilling to come out again.

We sent our tent on before and started from Balasore at about eleven o'clock in the evening in palanquins. Our party consisted of T., D., B., C. and his son, and myself. We arrived at Neilghur at about three o'clock, and our palanquins were simply set down on the ground that we might finish our night's rest. By the by, when the bearers of the palanquins are changed for fresh men, on taking hold they very often cry out, "Ah! my brother, my child!" but with me they generally make an addition to this—"Ah! my brother, my child, my elephant!"

When they set my palanquin down I turned to look about me. It was very dark, though the stars were shining brightly. The hill seemed to rise almost perpendicularly from my feet into the clouds; a strong blast of cold wind came rolling down its sides, and I was very glad to creep back again into my palanquin and cover myself up with a thick blanket. A little before sunrise I turned out again, and roused my companions. We dressed ourselves, loaded our guns and pistols, and started on the ascent, after swallowing a hasty cup of tea and a bit of bread.

At this moment the sun rose, and none but those who have witnessed the splendour of the oriental sunrise can have an idea of the magnificence of the scene. Immediately in front of us was a broad sheet of water surrounded by dense jungle, interspersed with lofty trees, from which, as we looked, two peacocks came forth to drink. At the back of the lake the hill rose abruptly to the height of nearly a thousand feet, the sides partially covered with trees, but which were interspersed here and there with precipices two or three hundred feet in depth, composed of a dark-coloured rock. From each side of this principal eminence project as it were shoulders, of about half the height, and which, covered with the thickest foliage, inclined round to the right and left so as to enclose us in a sort of semi-circle.

We had sent men the day before to trace a path through the jungle, and they had tolerably succeeded. But unfortunately I was weak and far from well, and was completely knocked

up before I got half way to the top. One of our party was a medical man, and he insisted on my not attempting to go any farther. I felt deadly sick, my face was as white as snow, every pulse in my head and chest throbbed as if it would burst, my mouth was not dry but clammy, and when I lay down on a piece of rock I almost doubted if I should ever rise again. However, I soon felt better, descended the hill, got a glass of beer, and lay down in the tent for an hour or two. The others reached the top without much difficulty, though two of them avowed that, if the summit had been a hundred yards farther, they could not have reached it. They were very thankful for some beer and brandy-and-water which I sent up for them. They saw no animals, though in several places traces of bears were observed. The Rajah says there are no tigers in these parts.

We had but little hunting; while we were there one of our party killed a beautiful spotted deer. I shot some peacocks and a jungle-cock. Talking of hunting reminds me of an adventure which I must relate. The commissioner is the stoutest man I have seen in India, although my wife did insinuate the other day that I was nearly as big, but I am not.

The other day Mr. D., Lieutenant H., and the commissioner went out hog-hunting. This sport is always performed on horse-back with long spears. The beaters soon turned out a magnificent boar. "A boar! a boar!" was the shout, and up galloped the commissioner and plunged the spear into the animal; but, in consequence of his horse swerving, he was unable to withdraw the weapon, and the boar ran off with it sticking into his back. Lieutenant H. now came up; the boar charged him, cut both the fore legs of his horse to the bone with his tusks, and tumbled horse and man over on the ground. In the mean time the commissioner had seized another spear from his syce, when the boar rushed at him. His horse swerved at the moment that he was making a thrust with his spear, and the poor commissioner rolled over on the ground. Fortunately the boar was nearly exhausted, too much so to charge again; but he did what perhaps no boar ever did before,—he seized the commissioner by the coat-tails as he lay on his stomach. Feeling the snout of the boar,

he at once expected to be cut, if not killed, by its tremendous tusks.

He sprang upon his feet ; the boar kept hold of his tail. The Commissioner faced about ; he had neither pistol nor knife, so he commenced pummelling away at the boar's face with his fist. Now imagine the scene—a man of his extraordinary size with his coat-tail held up by an enormous boar ; the Commissioner himself turned half round, and having a regular boxing-match with the ferocious brute. D. came up as quickly as he could for laughing, and with one good thrust of his spear put an end to the fight. The charge of the boar is fearful ; he cuts right and left with his tusks, and inflicts the most dreadful wounds.

And now I must mention some circumstances which to me rendered our expedition to Neilghur very unpleasant ; they relate to the manner in which our party treated the Rajah. On the morning of our arrival, after our descent from the hills, he came with a party of horsemen to call upon us. We were just sitting down to breakfast, when I observed the cavalcade approaching. I mentioned it, and proposed that, according to Indian politeness, we should go into the verandah of our tent to receive them. But the principal man of our party said, " Oh ! bother the fellow, we can't see him now ;" and he sent a servant out to tell him so.

In the afternoon the Rajah sent his man, corresponding to our chief gamekeeper in England, to ask when we should like the coolies to beat the jungle, and to say that he would join us in the hunt. We named the time and started accordingly, found the coolies in readiness, and saw the Rajah and his brother coming upon elephants.

Our party began to move on, when I asked, " Will you not wait for the Rajah ?" " I should think not," was the reply ; " we don't want the beastly niggers with us." And yet these civilized men were glad enough to make use of these beastly niggers' coolies and elephants. I stayed behind and had some talk with them.

The next day the two Rajahs called at the tent ; they entered as gentlemen, and made the usual Indian salutation. With the exception of myself, I do not think one of our party even rose

from his chair. In the course of conversation we spoke of the badness of the water we got. The Rajah immediately offered to send a man six miles into the hills to fetch some from a mountain stream. In little more than an hour afterwards, one of our party, feeling thirsty, sent a servant to ask the Rajah whether he had not got that water yet. In India, in speaking to a servant, you use the word "toom," which signifies "you." In speaking to a gentleman you say "ab," which means "your honour." One or two of our party made a point of saying "toom" to the Rajah, which was in fact a great insult. The younger brother called upon us. The chief of our party spoke to him on the subject of the disturbances, although it had all been settled by the Commissioner, and gave him a regular blowing up. And now remember that all this was to a gentleman—an Indian it is true, but still a gentleman, with a fine estate, and about 6000*l.* a-year, from whom we were receiving every kindness, and on whose land we were hunting. Can it be wondered at that the natives do not like us so well as might otherwise be expected?

The Rajah, I suppose, finding me more civil than the others, gave me a great mark of honour. He took me on his own elephant, while he acted as mahout, and whenever any roughness occurred on the ground he turned to warn me of it. I own that I did not enjoy the honour much. The elephant was covered with a crimson cloth, so that there were no ropes to hold by. The only way in which I could manage was to sit astride. It was really most painful, and I almost doubted whether I should ever be able to get my legs together again. I had two brace of pistols with me. The Rajah appeared very much pleased with them, and, to make up for the rudeness of our party, I gave him one of the pair. He was delighted, and I was sadly laughed at for giving anything to a nigger. His palace is a fine white building on the side of one of the hills.

Cuttack, July 4, 1844.

I HAVE mentioned the manner in which Europeans are apt to alienate the affections of the natives; I will now give you an instance of the way in which the Government seek to conciliate them. It must be remembered that salt is a Government monopoly, that is, no person is allowed to prepare or sell it except by the appointment of Government. The cost to them is about eight annas, or one shilling, per maund of eighty pounds; they sell it for four rupees, or eight shillings, for the same quantity; and yet so necessary is it to the natives, that, if any man does not buy the usual quantity of Government, which is, I believe, about half a seer, or one pound, a-month, for each individual, he is brought by the police before a magistrate and sent to gaol, on the presumption that, as he does not purchase salt, he must smuggle it.

Now the salt-manufacturers receive a portion of their pay beforehand, and the remainder when the salt is ready. They belong mostly to the poorest classes, and their mode of working is very simple, merely collecting the sea-water, and then suffering it to evaporate in the sun. When they receive the first portion of their pay, they are told how much they will receive per maund, for the price varies slightly in different years. Last year they were promised a certain sum; I am not exactly sure how much, but say eight annas per maund; and when they came to the salt-agent for their money, they found that an order had arrived from Government reducing the promised pay to six and a half annas per maund. Of course they were excessively angry, and utterly astonished; for one strong idea with the natives is, that an Englishman will never tell an untruth. I happened to be present at the time; it occurred at Pooree, in the neighbourhood of which are some of the principal salt-works, if I may use so dignified a term.

The proper course for these poor people to have taken would have been, to have brought an action against Government for breach of contract; but this they could not possibly afford. However, the magistrates of Pooree sent a strong remonstrance

to Government, and the consequence was, that they authorized the salt-agent this year to renew the contracts at the higher price, much to the delight of the poor salt-manufacturers, who still lost a part of the promised price of last year; yet it is scarcely to be credited that, before the time for the second payment arrived, another order was sent down, reducing the price as they did last year, and thus again defrauding the poor wretches of part of their small pittance, for defrauding it is in the truest sense of the word. All these things are managed by four or five men, who compose what is called the Salt Board.* I may mention that the salt-workers have been sadly disturbed this year by the number of tigers. The natives sometimes keep the claws of those which they are so fortunate as to kill, to make charms to keep off mischief.

And now I must describe Juggernat'h. To the temple are attached about *four thousand* priests and servants. Of these one set are called Pundahs. In the autumn of every year they start on a journey through India, preaching in every town and village the advantages of a pilgrimage to Juggernat'h; after which they conduct to Pooree large bodies of pilgrims for the Rath Justra, or Car Festival, which takes place in May or June—the precise time depends on the moon, as does the time of our Easter. This is the principal festival, and the number of devotees varies from about 80,000 to 150,000. About five years ago there were present, on one occasion, not less than 250,000; but that numerous meeting was owing to some peculiar sanctity which is supposed to be diffused once in 200 years. But I ought to have commenced with some account of Juggernat'h himself. He represents the ninth incarnation of Vishnoo. I have often wondered whether the Hindu religion may not, in some portions, be taken remotely from the Christian. One name of Vishnoo is Chrishna; one appellation of Juggernat'h is Sri Teo. This Teo, as Chrishna, became incarnate whilst very young; he was sought after by a king to put

* We can scarcely imagine that the Supreme Government would lend itself to such a transaction; we think it far more likely that it occurred through the culpability or negligence of some of the inferior agents, who may have misrepresented the case to Government.

him to death. Many children were killed, but he was removed from place to place in safety. He was born amongst the shepherds. The Hindus look for a tenth incarnation, when he shall unite all the world in one religion, and himself reign over them. I believe I am correct in giving these as points of faith amongst the Brahmins; and when we consider that the Hindu religion was probably established long after St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew had visited India, it certainly seems allowable to suppose that some portion of the Christian teaching became mingled with the doctrines of the Hindus. There is one objection to this supposition, namely, that Vishnoo is represented to have lived a very wicked and immoral life while on earth.

No European, Mussulman, or low-caste Hindu is admitted into the temple; we can, therefore, only speak on hearsay of what goes on inside. The idol itself is renewed every twelve years; it consists of a mere block of sacred wood, in the centre of which is said to be concealed a fragment of the original idol, which was fashioned by Vishnoo himself. The features and all the external parts are formed of a mixture of mud and cowdung painted. Every morning the idol undergoes his ablutions; but as the cowdung and paint would not stand the washing, the priests adopt a very ingenious plan—they hold a mirror in front of the image, and wash his reflection. Every evening he is put to bed; but as the idol is very unwieldy, they place the bedstead in front of him; on that they lay a small image, lock the door, and leave him to come down himself, if he can.

Offerings are made to him, by pilgrims and others, of rice, money, jewels, elephants, &c.; the Rajah of Knoudah and the priests being his joint treasurers. About twelve days before the Rath Justra, Juggernat'h goes to bathe; whilst doing so, he is supposed to be bitten by a snake, which causes him to be sick until the day of the festival. During his illness the priests take off his paint and cowdung, and give quite a new coat; so that at the end of the time he appears quite healthy and strong.

On the grand day the three cars, which, I should say, were fifty or sixty feet in height, are brought to the gate of the temple; the idols are then taken out by the priests—Juggernat'h having

golden arms and diamond eyes for that one day—and by means of pulleys are hauled up and placed in their respective carriages; to these enormous ropes are attached, and the assembled thousands, with loud shouts, proceed to drag the idols to Juggernat'h's country-house, a small temple at about a mile distant. This occupies several days, and the idols, having rusticated for some time, are brought back to their regular station. The Hindus believe that every person who aids in dragging the cars receives pardon for all his past sins; every pilgrim who dies within five miles of Pooree will be greatly blessed in his next life; and every person who swims out to sea, so far as to see the top of the temple from the surface of the water, secures great blessings in another life for himself, his father and mother, his grandparents, and the three next generations descended from himself! This last experiment, however, is very rarely tried; there are too many sharks to make it pleasant. One man was drowned last year in attempting it. As to the people throwing themselves under the wheels of the car, that I believe to be altogether a European invention. Some occasionally fall accidentally, and are thus killed; but I imagine that self-immolation in this way neither is nor ever was at all a common thing.

I have very little doubt that great wickedness prevails within the temple. In two cases, lately, it is known that murder has been committed there; yet we, who have held the country so long, are not allowed to enter the building. It is said that if we attempted it we should be driven from the district; this I do not believe. Some years ago the priests declared that the god would not leave his country-house until all the English were driven from the province. The officer commanding at Cuttack directly sent word that, if the idol was not brought back on the usual day, he would come and blow both it and the temple to pieces. Juggernat'h immediately came to his senses, and was back in his temple one day before his regular time.

During the period the pilgrims remain at Pooree they are not allowed to eat anything but what has been offered to the idol, and that they have to buy at a very high price from the priests. This food is often very bad, and from that, combined with

other causes, the cholera makes sad ravages amongst these poor people.

At the festival that is just past it is calculated that there were about 130,000 pilgrims. The cholera this year was very mild ; but not less than 650 died at Pooree, or between that place and Cuttack. Their bodies are generally thrown out to be devoured by the dogs, vultures, and jackals. One Sunday morning, in coming home from church, we found that three bodies had been thrown out in front of our house ; two of them were rapidly disappearing in the jaws of these animals, the other was tossing about in the surf. However, I sent to the magistrate, and he had them removed and burnt. A vast proportion of the pilgrims are widows. In India a widow is not permitted to marry again, but must be supported by her late husband's relations ; and it is said that many of those poor women are sent down to Pooree in hope of getting rid of them, and no doubt this purpose frequently succeeds. And to support this system our Government pays 6000*l.* a-year ; equal to the salaries of ten chaplains of our Church. This year an event occurred which the Hindus consider to be very ominous of evil. As they were bringing the god out, one of the chief priests was seized with cholera, and was sick all over the idol. The necessary purifications occupied so long a time, that the procession was not able to start that day.

I have just had a sad misfortune : all my cloth clothes, cloaks, &c., with two or three dozen shirts, flannels, waistcoats, drawers, &c. &c.—in short, everything but what was in actual use—were put away in a large chest. Whilst we were at Pooree my stupid man never once looked at them. When I returned I wanted something out of the chest, opened it, and found that every individual thing had been almost entirely destroyed by white ants—coats, shirts, flannels, were eaten through in all directions ; and I think there was, at least, 50*l.* worth destroyed. I have fined my man two months' pay for his carelessness ; but, as that is only 22*s.*, it is a very poor consolation to me.

Cuttack, August 10, 1844.

THE weather is now most fearfully oppressive ; not so much from the actual heat, for the thermometer is seldom above 86° or 87°, but from a dense mass of cloud, which at the height of a few hundred feet encloses us, as it were, day and night in one vast steamy vapour-bath. The last two or three months are actually the most trying that I have felt in India.

I forget whether I have described the Brindabund monkeys. I have now a pair of them. I do not remember ever to have seen them in England. They are covered all over with long, thick, black hair ; but round the face, extending from temple to temple, is a very broad, thick frill of white or rather light grey : the tail is of a middling length, the snout very short, and the animal himself remarkably docile and intelligent. Those that I have are not yet a year old, and I should say the body is about a foot in length. When on their hind legs they stand nearly two feet.

I have mine in the verandah just outside my study door, and they are so full of fun that I often sit for a long time watching them. One runs a little way up the lattice, then the other makes a spring after him, and up they both go as fast as they can. Presently the lower one catches hold of the upper one's tail, and brings him down to the bottom ; then he makes a jump and gets away into his kennel and sits at the door, whilst the other wanders round and round, trying to find some place where he can get in without being observed ; in doing this he carelessly turns his back, when out jumps the other and catches hold of his tail or his hind leg, and drags him round and round their cage. I should tell you that the cage is the end of the verandah at the back of my house ; two sides of it are wall, and the other two are lattice. It is about ten feet square, twelve feet high at one end, and eighteen or twenty at the other.

When they are frightened they sit upright on the floor, with their arms clasped round each other ; and if I take one of them out tied by a string, they both scream the whole time until they are brought together again, and then they rush into each other's

arms. These two monkeys are very much admired by the Europeans at Cuttack, who have given them the name of "the gentlemen monkeys," because, from the great length of their hair, they look as if they were dressed, besides being quiet and docile. They are almost as rare here as in England. They are of the most sacred race of monkeys in the eyes of the Hindus; and indeed the only objection I have to them is, that I am afraid some of my servants make poojah to them, that is, worship them, and prostrate themselves before them, and make offerings of rice to them.

We have a great improvement in the use of our finger-glasses over those in England. One man waits behind every person at each meal, even at tea, and as soon as the meal is over he brings his master or mistress a finger-glass filled with water, with two or three leaves of verbenum, or bay, or sweet-smelling lime, for the persons to squeeze between their fingers. In a hot climate like India this is very pleasant and refreshing.

When a man in India, I mean a European gentleman, wants a wife, he says to his friend, "I should like to get married." "Well," says he, "why don't you?" and forthwith he applies for leave of absence for a month. A month consists of thirty days, of which, say five are occupied in his journey to Calcutta, and another five on his journey back, leaving him just twenty days in which to make his selection, get introduced, make himself agreeable, propose, court, and be married. A nice prospect he has for future happiness. But there is one curious result in this sort of marriage, and a result, too, which spreads among other people also. After a few years the wife loses her health and is ordered to England. The husband cannot afford to go with her, but he allows her about half his salary. At the end of two or three years, or whatever time may have been fixed, he writes to his wife to make arrangements for her return to India; and I have known two instances in which the husband was obliged to stop the allowance in order to compel the wife to return.

I have often wished to have some peacocks in my compound, but every one told me that they would fly away; however, I found that those who had tried to keep them had obtained the

young birds from the jungle. I thought I would try another plan, and therefore I got some eggs and set them under a hen. I have three young ones coming on nicely, perfectly tame, and which, I think, will look very well among the trees in front of my house. Two are peacocks, the other a peahen.

Cuttack, September 14, 1844.

My wife and I were sitting, after tea, playing at backgammon and enjoying the cool breeze that came through the open Venetians, when suddenly it began to rain. In an instant the room swarmed with insects of all sorts. There was the beautiful large green mantis; and, as we were watching his almost human motions, a grasshopper and a large brown cricket flew against my face, while a great cockroach, full three inches long, came on my wife's neck, and began running about her head and face and dress; the flying-ant, which emits a most nauseous effluvia; and the flying-bug, black, and about the size of an English one, which, if you crush him, will make your fingers smell most dreadfully for many hours;—and with these our clothes were covered, and we were obliged to keep brushing them away from our faces, but with very gentle handling; and then came two or three hornets, which sent Mrs. Acland to bed to get under the mosquito-curtains, where none of these horrid creatures can get at her. I sat up trying to read, but buzz came a mosquito on the side of my face, up went my hand a tremendous slap on the cheek to kill the tormentor, and buzz he went on again. Then I felt something big burying itself in my hair, and then came buzz on the other side, and then all around.

Presently, with a loud hum, a great rhinoceros-beetle dashed into my face. I now began to take some of the animals out of my hair; and the first that I touched was a flying-bug: the stench was dreadful. I rushed out of the room, brushing the horrible creatures from my hair with both hands. I nearly fell over a toad on which I trod, and reached my bed-room to find eighteen or twenty great toads croaking in different parts of the room, and five large bats were whirling round and round the bed. Having

washed my hands in eau-de-cologne, I quickly undressed and fell asleep.

In the course of the night a troop of jackals surrounded the house, and by their frightful yells soon drove away all idea of rest; and then, about four o'clock, as we were just dozing off again, comes the roll of the drum and the loud voice of the trumpet, the tramp of the soldiers, the firing, and all the bustle of the parade; and, as soon as that is over, comes the changing guard, and the "*shoulder harrm*," and the "*quick marrech*," near our house; and so we got up.

Then comes the bath, the greatest luxury of the day (the water just cooler than the air), into which I get with a book, lie there an hour reading, get out and partly dress, and then admit my man to wash my feet in cold water, and to shampoo me and brush my hair, whilst another brings me a cup of delicious coffee or a glass of sherbet; and then breakfast, with an enormous fan swinging to and fro over our heads; and the heat, and the discomfort, and languor till five o'clock, agreeably diversified only by a bottle of beer cooled with saltpetre and water; and then a drive, and tea, and mosquitoes again, and so on.

Cuttack, October 13, 1844.

I HAD to make a five days' journey at the worst season of the year to marry a couple, and I returned with a bad cough, which became more violent after the cold had left me. I am very weak, so that I walk like an old man. The doctors here are paid by the Government for attending all persons in the service. The Company also find medicines, but not the bottles, which sometimes leads to curious circumstances. The other day I wanted some medicine, and sent to the doctor for it; presently my man brought me back a black-draught in an old eau-de-cologne bottle, with a roll of paper by way of cork, and a request that I would return the bottle, as it was the only one he had.

I am about to apply for leave of absence. I shall go up to Calcutta, spend a fortnight with my friends there, Mr. and Mrs. S.; they will then come down here, when Mrs. Acland will join us, and we shall go to the Chelka Lake and the black pagodas.

I have another monkey now, which is kept at the stable ; it is a horrible animal, about a foot and a half high, of a light greenish brown colour, no hair on its head, and very much inclined to be savage. I keep it to please my stable-people, who have a superstition that this kind of monkey prevents the horses getting unwell. Not long ago a young officer turned a very savage one loose ; it took up its abode in my compound. In one night it killed three of my fan-tailed pigeons, and it chased my goats backward and forward so incessantly, that one of them died of fatigue. I told my stable-people to catch the animal, and get rid of him. This they did not do ; so I then gave them notice, that, if the monkey was not in the jungle on the other side of the river by seven o'clock the next morning, I would cut them all a month's pay. This is the best method of punishing the natives, and in the present instance it was most effectual, for I have not seen the fiendish-looking face of the exile since that day.

In India the cow's milk is very bad, poor, and thin ; that of the buffalo is of a bad colour and rank ; but what is furnished by the goat is delicious, and many people, ourselves among the number, keep flocks of goats. I flatter myself that mine (twelve goats and seven kids) are very handsome. The male kids we eat when they are old enough to leave their mother ; they are very nice indeed. Our goats are much larger than those in England, but all other animals are very small. I have heard it said at table, " Will you take a shoulder or leg of lamb ? " Beef and veal in this bigoted part of the country are quite forbidden things. Yet how curious this is ! No animals are worse treated than the bullocks, which are here the only beasts of burden. They are starved and ill-used in every way. I have seen a man dislocate several joints successively of his bullock's tail ; yet, if I were to fire my gun at the poor animal to put it out of its misery, I should probably have my house burnt over my head.

I saw a most extraordinary sight last night. It was in the evening very hot, and a great deal of electricity in the air. There were two very heavy clouds, one at a considerable distance above the other. Suddenly some vapour separated itself

with a whirling motion from the upper, assuming the shape of a waterspout until the point touched the lower ; then a commotion began, the lower cloud rushing in large white masses up the sides of the spout and uniting with the upper. This continued for nearly forty minutes, until the lower was absorbed.

Cuttack, November 14, 1844.

I SOWED some melon-seed one Friday morning ; on the Monday when I went into the garden most of the melon-plants were two inches in height. In three days, in the open ground, from being mere dry seeds they had germinated and sprung up into strong healthy plants. The same rapidity of growth is remarkable in almost all vegetation in this country. I sowed some English peas the day before yesterday ; this morning they are all above the ground. Thus we see that the effect of the climate is to hurry all these things forward, so that they naturally decay and die much earlier than they would in Europe.

Now just put man in the place of a vegetable, and the case is precisely the same. A native boy has generally good-sized mustachios by the time he is fourteen, and a girl becomes a woman at eleven or twelve ; then, again, at thirty the woman is old and shrivelled, and at forty the man is white-haired and decrepit. Who can wonder, then, that a climate like this should have such serious effects on Europeans, or that our constitutions should be soon worn out by the burning sun ?

However, this month I have no right to complain ; I am far better than I have been for some time. The weather is delightful ; we are glad of a thick blanket and counterpane at night ; at six, when I get up, the thermometer is rarely above 72°. I have no objection to a cloak when I am sowing seeds in the morning. The thermometer now, two o'clock P.M., is in my room exactly 80°, but there is a delightful cool breeze.

I have before observed that I did not feel satisfied with my medical man. As the East India Company do not allow above one doctor to every fifty miles, I wrote to a friend of mine in

whom I have much confidence, detailing all my symptoms and requesting his advice. I could not think it of any use to put blisters and leeches on my throat for a cough and sickness which I felt to proceed from my stomach, and as I was very unwell I thought it best to consult another person. In the wisdom of his advice I perfectly agree, although it is more difficult to act up to it in India: "Employ your mind and stint your body." Any amusement, anything that could interest or excite or rouse, he recommended, but to avoid all unnatural stimulants as much as possible (I mean wine and spirits), and take plenty of exercise. If I do this, he says, he thinks I may leave all physic in the bottles and the leeches in the ponds. In accordance with this advice I am occupying myself in various ways. Books it is impossible to procure, so I have been training a horse for my wife—a beautiful little thing. I have made arrangements too for going to Calcutta in the course of the cold weather; and I have enclosed about an acre of my ground, and am making a vegetable or rather a kitchen garden of it.

I get up about six, dress in my old clothes, go out, and find one of the horses, or rather ponies, at the door waiting for me. I must ride him through the long grass, which by the bye is very nearly fit to cut, to look at a number of my trees scattered here and there in the compound, which I have been planting; then, when I am down at the farther end I take a glance at the large pond, or tank as we call it, where, sheltered by the most beautiful flowering trees, two men are catching fish for our breakfast. Then I ride along inside the hedge, watching the soldiers at parade, until I come to the goat-house; then see the pigs fed, and ride back to the house.

By this time my wife is up, and she goes into the flower-garden, and I into the kitchen-garden, to sow seeds and superintend the gardeners. And here is the most curious scene; seven black men at work, their only dress a cloth round the loins, their long black hair wound up in a knot at the back of the head, their only tools a sort of broad pickaxe with a very short handle and a small sickle, these are their only gardening implements; and two men are watering with gurrachs, a sort of narrow-necked jar

made of black clay, which they let down into a well by a rope. In the flower-garden are the beautiful balsams, of many colours, and as large as gooseberry-bushes; the splendid coxcombs, eight or ten feet high, whose great thick flowers measure twelve or fourteen inches by six or eight; the varieties of the hybiscas, with many others; and a few of the more precious European rarities—at least to us—such as the heliotrope, verbenum, larkspur, and many others. Our borders are mostly of the sweet-scented grass from the Neilghur hills, which is always covered with a beautiful small white flower.

In the vegetable-garden, besides the precious peas, beans, celery, cress, &c., which will only grow at this time of the year, are the pine-apple, the plantain, the guava, the lime, the orange, the custard-apple, with many other native plants and trees; and in the hedges are some of the beautiful palms, from the sap of which the Indians make an intoxicating drink called toddy. In the compound are some very fine mango-trees and beeches.

The other evening I was sitting alone writing at about eleven o'clock, when I heard the sentry call out loudly to my servants who were sleeping in the verandah. I jumped up to see what was the matter. "A leopard-tiger!" was the answer; and the man said he had seen a leopard creeping stealthily along the compound. He leapt over the wall into the garden of the Colonel who lives in the next house, and the following day footsteps were found in various parts of the cantonment, which the natives said were too large for a leopard, and must have been the marks of a regular tiger. I did not see the animal myself; but if the men were correct, it must have been an extraordinary occurrence, as our little island is entirely free from wild beasts; and although it is at this time of the year joined to the main by a narrow neck of sand, yet no large beast will cross unless pressed either by hunger or by hunters.

A few days ago a man brought me an animal which he had caught in the jungle on the hills. At first sight I said it was an armadillo, but now I feel some doubt whether it was not some unknown animal. I wanted to buy it, in order to send the skin, or rather the shell, home, but the man asked ten rupees for it, which

I could not afford. It was nearly three feet long, covered with thick hard scales of a dirty yellow colour, the tail the same length as the body, and equally broad, which I do not think is the case with the armadillo. The shape of its whole back was a long oval. When frightened it rolled itself up into a ball, but it appeared very lethargic and stupid. The feet were armed with long, powerful claws, but it walked with the lower joints turned down under the feet, as if I were to walk on my ankles with the feet and toes turned under and behind. It burrowed a hole in a wall, pulling out the bricks and mortar very easily. I tried it with various kinds of food, but the only thing I could get it to eat was white ants. The man who brought it said he had never seen one like it before.

Not long ago the doctor at Pooree saw a number of natives running to the beach. He inquired what was the matter: "A great fish, sir." So down he went to join the crowd, and there he found a large fish indeed: a whale, measuring forty-eight feet in length, had been washed on shore; the body was rolling about in the surf, with great numbers of the natives clinging to it.

Then the doctor and the only other European present took off their shoes and stockings, turned up their trowsers, and climbed on the enormous animal's back; they got well wetted for their pains. The other gentleman that I mentioned is not a very learned man, and he said that their climbing up the sides of the whale reminded him of the "Lally prussians" climbing on to Gulliver. This same person once said that his wife had had a "historical" fit, in consequence of eating "aromatically" sealed salmon.

Khoutah, 30 miles from Cuttack, December 16, 1844.

I AM now writing in a tent in which, with the exception of Christmas week, I expect to spend the next month or two, travelling in search of health. The cool weather has refreshed me much, and I feel far better than I did. A question has been asked me respecting the antiquity of the religions of this country.

I believe the Bhuddist religion to be more ancient than the Brahminical in India ; though I think that the latter is the older in reality, as I imagine it to have existed almost in its present form in ancient Egypt. The Hindus burn their dead, the Mohammedans bury them : but there are very many of the former who are too poor to purchase wood ; in this case the bodies are simply thrown out for the jackals and vultures.

Jenkia, about 44 miles south of Cuttack, January 4, 1845.

FROM Khoulah I returned to Cuttack for Christmas. Early on Christmas morning Mr. G., the collector and magistrate of Pooree, came in to spend the day with us. Poor man ! he and a cousin of his were almost brought up together, and they became much attached even in childhood. When he obtained an appointment in India, it was agreed that he should return to England and marry her as soon as he should have attained sufficient rank in the service to give him an adequate income. After about five years' residence in this country he went home and was married. This was ten years ago, and from that time his life seems to have been as happy as a human life can be. Latterly they became anxious to go home on furlough, in order that they might see their children settled in England, but they had not saved money enough ; so, in April, Mr. G. applied for a better appointment, and was consequently nominated to Pooree. On their way down, as they passed through Calcutta, both were seized with cholera ; he recovered, but she died ; he sent his children home, but arrived at Pooree a solitary man. He is still in a very desponding state, but I do all I can to arouse him, both by bodily amusement and religious converse.

At about one o'clock of the night of Christmas-day, or rather of the following morning, my wife, Mr. G., and myself got into our palanquins, and started for Khoordagurree, which we visited last year. We arrived at our tent by about ten o'clock on Thursday morning, bathed, dressed, breakfasted, and prepared to start for the caves ; but, alas ! it began to rain, and the water

continued to fall in torrents for upwards of eighteen hours. We might have expected this, for in India it is almost invariably the case in Christmas week. The seasons are very regular; it generally rains every day from the 15th of June to the 15th of October, that is, in this part of India; the next showers are in Christmas-week, and then rarely any more till June. Now, this thorough drenching was both unpleasant and dangerous: for, although the tents kept out the water very effectually, yet everything was so thoroughly damp that we began to be afraid of the deadly jungle-fevers.

Just outside one of the doors of each tent we lighted a large wood fire, and allowed as much of the smoke to come in as we could possibly bear; this warmed us, and dried up the damp and purified the air; and we retired to bed and put out the fires: we closed the doors of the tents, and found ourselves in a comparatively dry healthy atmosphere.

Tanghi, 56 miles south of Cuttack, January 5, 1845.

THE following afternoon we were able to revisit the caves. But I will first describe our journey. On the Monday and Tuesday we had plenty of shooting; the Wednesday, New-Year's day, we spent in-doors. At six o'clock on the morning of Thursday, the 2nd, we started for Jonkia. We went on horse-back, riding fourteen miles before breakfast. Our manner of travelling is most delightfully independent: we encamp at any place we wish to see; Mr. G. transacts his necessary business as magistrate and revenue-collector; then we have one, two, or three days' exercise in hunting and shooting, the time depending chiefly on the abundance of game.

When we feel inclined to start we send forward an order to the principal man at the next place, say twelve or fifteen miles distant, to build one room, about thirty feet square, in a shady place, for ourselves; for the walls we use cocoa-nut and palm leaves, bound together with bamboos, and the ceiling is made of the same material with a few pieces of matting to keep out the

sun. The evening before we start we send on a cart with some of our chairs, tables, and other necessities and provisions, which it would be very awkward to forget, under charge of some of our followers: we have about one hundred and twenty of them with us.

Then, in the morning, we get up at five; we have a bit of toast, an egg, and a cup of coffee or a glass of sherry; give orders for the tents to be struck and everything to be brought on as quickly as possible, and then we mount our horses; a groom runs by the side, and a little way behind come our palanquins and tonjons.

We are also attended by men carrying our guns and powder, by many other servants, and about half the inhabitants of the last village through which we passed. If we feel tired we get into our tonjons; if the sun is too hot we call for our palanquins. Every now and then we see five or six peacocks feeding in a rice-field, or we come to a place where there are plain tracks of deer. Then we give our horses to the grooms, and creep along gently with our heads down and our guns in our hands, whilst my wife either watches the sport or trots gently on. At last we arrive at our encamping-place; there we find our leafy house ready, and similar ones provided for the servants and horses; eat a hearty breakfast, at which we sometimes substitute beer for tea, and by the time that is over the tents are arrived.

We have them put up, arrange them comfortably, perhaps have a game at chess, and then go out for a stroll about our new ground. Our dinner-hour varies, but is generally between seven and eight. We are usually up about five, and often walk from ten to twenty miles a-day. This has done me a great deal of good: I feel already quite a different person from what I did when I was in Cuttack. I have not, however, lost my cough.

Sunday is a day of rest with us; we have service and spend the day very quietly. At Jonkia we remained until Saturday the 4th; then came on to Tanghi; on Thursday, the 9th, proceeded to Soonercollee, on the 10th to Bampoor, and yesterday, the 11th, we arrived at this place. So much for our actual route; now I will give some account of what we have seen.

When we came to Jonkia we agreed that we had never seen anything to compare with the scenery there; but as we came into Soonerecollee we quite forgot Jonkia in the new splendours that met our eyes. Yet these were again eclipsed in the beauties of Chelka Lake, to which we took one evening's ride from Soonercollee. It is utterly impossible to convey any idea of the scenery either by the pen or the pencil; yet I will try what I can do.

In approaching the small village of Soonercollee you ascend a hill some 200 or 300 feet high by a steep winding road or rather path. At the top of the eminence it is cut through the solid rock, which rises about thirty feet on each side. Suddenly, at a turn in the road, the whole country in the front becomes visible, and I doubt whether any one could repress a cry of admiration at the sight. The spectator is (as I said before) at the summit of a lofty hill; beneath him is a plain of some ten or twelve miles across, bounded on every side by a lofty range and masses of rock. Peering up behind are to be seen a succession of noble mountains. The sides of the hills, where they do not consist of rocky precipices, are covered with a dense jungle: the plain below is cultivated, except where, in three places, abrupt rocky masses, interspersed with jungle, rise to a height of 300 or 400 feet. It looks as if some mighty convulsion had taken place, and the earth had thrown up large bubbles of rock from the surface of the plain.

The scenery on the Chelka Lake, a piece of water some forty miles long by from ten to twenty in breadth, is very similar to the above, if you substitute water for the level plain of the rice-fields. Here the hills rise abruptly from the lake, and many of them are quite inaccessible. The islands are inhabited by animals, but not by man; and it is rather curious that each islet appears to have its own peculiar race. Thus, one is inhabited by the beautiful spotted deer, another by the enormous Indian elk, another by goats and fowls (this one is sacred to the goddess Khalee), another by wild pigs, and another by pigeons. With some difficulty I landed on one of the pigeon islands: its greatest height did not exceed thirty feet, and in circumference it may

have been near a quarter of a mile; but its structure was most extraordinary. It was composed entirely of enormous masses of rock piled together without the appearance of order or arrangement: it appeared as if some earthquake had destroyed some giant dwelling-place, and left the ruins in one vast heap. Some of the stones, larger than a man's body, had fallen upon one end; they gave way beneath my foot, but returned to their position as soon as relieved of the extra weight which had destroyed the balance. The blue pigeons rose in clouds from every crevice, and fluttered about until I left the neighbourhood of their nests.

The lake lay all around—so calm, so beautiful, with the green mountains rising here and there from its surface, dotted all over with myriads of ducks, geese, teal, and many other aquatic birds: and this reminded me of one thing which I should have related before. As we approached the shores of the lake we were surprised to see a long line of tall white and red creatures standing just within the water. We looked at them through Mr. G.'s glass, and found that they were birds; we got out of our tonjons, crept towards them with loaded guns, fired, and missed them, when they all rose and flew away.

The next morning Mr. G. and I returned to the spot: we each took a separate boat, as Mrs. Acland was not with us; mine, like the others, was about thirty feet long, and formed of a single piece of wood, a tree scooped out. Mr. G. was very anxious to obtain some game, and in the course of about two hours shot a couple of large bare-headed geese and nineteen ducks of various sorts; indeed, they sat in such masses on the water as to resemble rather a low wall than a number of birds. At one shot he killed five ducks, and I three: I did not care much about them, but I was anxious to see again some of my friends of the previous evening.

At last I came in sight of a flock of them near the shore. I sat down in the bottom of the boat, whilst the men pushed it gently along. I was nearly within shot, when Mr. G. fired his gun at the distance of about a mile from my boat: up and away flew all the birds. I was very much annoyed: however, after some time, I saw about half a dozen nearly two miles from me.

On we went again, but they had become shy : they raised their heads and looked about them as we approached, and presently they rose. I did not think I was sufficiently near, but I might not have another chance, so I fired, and down fell one of the birds. I pushed one of the boatmen over to fetch it, though he hardly needed pushing, for they appeared quite as anxious as I was.

I will try to describe my prize: I believe the bird to have been a flamingo; and yet, if so, the usual descriptions are very erroneous. The beak is pink, and furnished with a double row of teeth on each side of the lower mandible—one row on the beak, and dark coloured; the other very white and sharp, close to the tongue, which is large. The eyes are pale, and surrounded by a thick yellow ring; the wings are of a beautiful rose-colour, edged with black; the legs pink; the rest of the body is white. When standing upright it is about five feet high: the body is extremely small, neck and legs very long; it has three toes in front and is web-footed, also a claw behind; the beak very large.

Midnapore, February 14, 1845.

THIS is Friday, and on Sunday night I start for Calcutta to spend a month with our friends; there I shall have plenty of occupation for the mind, and shall, I hope, get rid entirely of the oppression under which I have recently suffered.

Fancy yourself standing with me on that little rising ground, near the foot of that large hill: it is near Bunool, on the banks of the Chelka Lake. Keep out of sight behind that bush. Hark! there are the beaters climbing the rocks on the opposite side of the hill. There are 400 extended along the whole side, and every tenth man has a drum or trumpet. Some of them have guns, curious native matchlocks; others have swords or spears; and every one has a thick bamboo about eight feet long. Listen! they are beginning to beat. As they force their way through the jungle they strike the bushes with their sticks, and from one end of the lake to the other resound the most unearthly noises.

The horrid yells of the natives, the screaming of the trumpets, the constant beating of the tom-toms and drums—you can hardly imagine such horrid discord. See: there is Mr. G. hiding himself behind that clump of trees a quarter of a mile off. Hold your gun ready, you cannot tell what may rush out of the jungle. Don't show yourself. Listen again to those yells. They must nearly have reached the top of the hill. Hush! there is a rustling in those bushes close to you. What is it? Keep close, but up with your gun. Here it comes! Bah! don't fire at that; it is only a civet-cat. What a beautiful animal it is, with its grey sides, and tail striped with that glossy black. But the skin is of no use; the stench from it is so exceedingly powerful that you could not possibly bear it in the house. Look out! there's another rush! Here it comes! a pig! no; what can it be? Why, it's a porcupine. Don't fire. Here, you messenger, catch it. Fancy the man's look of dismay when ordered to catch a porcupine. However, another of my men jumped up and stabbed the animal with his sword.

Oh, what a clash in the jungle at the top of the hill! See! that must be some large animal coming down. Don't let him see you; peep through that bush. How he plunges through the jungle! He has stopped: look now! he leaves the beaters behind him, but he suspects danger in front. You can see his head by the side of that tree, just below that high rock. He is standing still and gazing at us. What a splendid pair of antlers! He must be one of the largest sambres (Indian elk) I ever saw. I am afraid he is hardly within shot; however, I'll try. He is down; the ball struck him just in the centre of his forehead, and one of my men rushes forward to despatch him with his sword.

But look there! Mr. G. is running as fast as he can, and all his men running too. What can be the matter? Quick! see! there is an enormous bear pursuing them. Here, give me my gun; make haste. Look! G. has stumbled, and is rolling head over heels down the hill. Bang! I hit him! See, he turns back. G. shot the female, and was immediately attacked by the male, whilst his gun was not loaded, for he foolishly had but one. We got the body of the female, and brought it to our tents in triumph. It

was a black bear, measuring five feet seven inches in length, and its teeth quite worn out.

Cuttack, April 2, 1845.

THE Government of India orders me to go from Cuttack to Midnapore and back again four times a-year, to Balasore and back twice a-year, and to Pooree and back four times a-year. The distance from Cuttack to Midnapore is one hundred and eighty miles, from Cuttack to Balasore one hundred and three miles, and from Cuttack to Pooree forty-nine miles. I travel about forty-seven miles a-day on the average. The Government allows me twelve annas and two pice per mile for travelling expenses; it costs me four annas and two pice—an anna being one-sixteenth part of a rupee, and a pice one-fourth part of an anna.

I must now mention some of my adventures in the jungle. One day we went with a native Rajah to hunt antelopes. Suppose the shore of the Chelka Lake on one side and the sea on the other, with a strip of sand between them rather more than a mile wide. The antelopes live entirely on the sandy plain, and feed on the scanty plants which grow among the sand. Across this flat a net about seven feet in height and a mile long was staked, and 100 men were stationed along it as guards. About 500 men were then sent out with a similar net about a mile and a half in length, which they stretched at perhaps five miles from the other. These 500 men then walked slowly towards the first net, carrying the other in front of them, and driving lots of antelopes before them. When they came within a mile of the first net they staked the second, and there were perhaps fifty or sixty antelopes enclosed in a space of about a mile square. Mr. G., the Rajah, and myself, went inside with our guns. It was barbarous sport. In two days we killed fifteen, which our servants ate most gladly. But the interesting thing was to see twenty or thirty bound, one after the other, over the net and the men's heads, giving tremendous leaps; the black men striking at them with their swords and spears, and cowering to avoid their sharp-cutting hoofs, and all hallooing and

jabbering, and swearing; whilst every now and then the crack of one of our guns would be heard, and the whizz of the bullet as it passed near.

Another day we expected some danger. When we arrived at the ground, which consisted of thick patches of jungle, with open spaces between, we got out of our tonjons and took our guns. There we found a number of men looking for traces of deer, wild boars, tigers, or any other animals. As soon as they found the track of one they followed it until it led into the jungle, and exactly at that spot they pushed in amongst the bushes an enormous bag made of net of thick rope. Its mouth was kept open by a few twigs, whilst a running rope went round the entrance and was fastened to a stake on one side. If then any animal should make a rush along this track, he must go head foremost into the net: the twigs would fall down, the neck would be drawn tight, and the poor creature would be a prisoner. All these preparations were at length concluded, and the Rajah then advised us to mount the elephants, as he said two tigers had been seen in these jungles the day before. We at once asked him whether his elephants had been trained to stand the charge of a tiger, which always springs at its head. He said he did not know; and we agreed that we would rather stand the advance of a tiger on foot ourselves than be on the back of a mad elephant scampering at random through the jungle. So we built up an artificial hedge in front of us, and crouched down with our guns pointed through some loopholes we had left in our fence.

This arrangement was hardly completed before we began to hear the sounds of the drums and the trumpets, and the yells of the people, as nearly a thousand of them marched through the jungle towards us, driving before them every sort of game. I should tell you that we kept our elephants close at hand in case of the worst. You cannot imagine the excitement in such watching as this. Two or three miles off the most fearful yells from 1000 men, close around you utter silence; your eyes roaming in every direction, not knowing at what point a deer or a tiger may break out.

Ha! listen! there's a crack among the branches, and out rushes

a noble stag. Bang goes G.'s gun. We had agreed that he should have the first shot. He's down! "Hush! here's something else in this patch of jungle." "Where?" he whispers, as he loads. "There, I see it now: look out; here it comes!" And sure enough out rushed seven pigs, followed almost immediately by three others. Now a wild boar is a most awkward animal to fight on foot, and we had agreed we should not fire at them. However, they rushed right towards us. What's to be done? "Get on the elephant," says G. "No time," said I; "follow me:" and we both fairly turned tail, pursued by a herd of pigs until we came to a bush, or rather a patch of bushes, round which we could make a short turn to escape them, and then back to our own station, laughing as hard as we could. But really a wild boar is no laughing matter as he rushes along tearing up the earth. If he charges, as he almost invariably does, with one movement of his head he could cut both legs to the bone, dividing the arteries, and probably killing the man.

Presently a young stag rushed into one of the bags with such force as to break both his horns close off. There we found him when we examined the nets. We were sitting watching for what should come next, when G., raising his finger, whispered to me, "What's that down there in the plain? That's a deer: no, it can't be: do you see how it slouches along? Depend upon it it's not a deer." "Well, at any rate it's coming this way; we shall soon get a look at it." Another pause of half a minute and the beast was concealed in a little patch of jungle a few hundred yards from us. I now had time to examine it. "I'll tell you what, G.; that brute's a regular tiger." "Well, so I thought, but I hardly liked to say so: what shall we do if he comes this way?" "I say keep close where we are." "But suppose he should make a spring over the hedge in front of us?" "Lie flat down, and let him go over us: yet I think I could hardly resist having a shot while he was in the air." "Oh! pray don't fire; what in the world could we two do on foot against a wounded tiger?" However, our fears were needless: as the beaters advanced, the animal slunk away into a more distant piece of jungle, and we saw no more of him. Two of our people

were rather hurt to-day—one by a deer leaping over him, and cutting his head with his hoof; a rupee, however, made him quite happy again: the other was a man who, as a large stag rushed past, made a spring at its horns, thinking to pull it down, whereby he got a severe fall and prevented us from firing.

Pooree, April 26, 1845.

I HAVE had another attack similar to last year; it came on in the same way and whilst I was in the pulpit. In the midst of the sermon my teeth began to chatter; I could not speak; my face became perfectly white; a cold blast seemed to enter my left side and spread over the surface of my body, and then gradually penetrate to the very innermost part, whilst I was obliged to cling to the sides of the pulpit for support. It did not last above a minute and a half, and I managed to finish my sermon; but it was enough to astonish the congregation and to warn me of what was coming. All my old symptoms returned, though not so strongly as before—utter restlessness at night and heavy sleepiness during the day, a painful cough when I lay down, and other alarming signs. We came down to Pooree, where my favourite doctor lives, and I already feel much better.

There is a billiard-table in the house where we are now staying, and the doctor desires me to play as much as I can every day. Of course playing for money is never allowed. The game of billiards is about the best exercise for India. It is not too violent, yet it gives a man about three miles of walking in the hour, and brings all the limbs into play.

May 8, 1845.

I am too weak to write much, and shall therefore continue at another time.

[NOTE.—On the 17th of May the author's life was closed.]

THE END.

ADVENTURES
ON
THE ROAD TO PARIS,
DURING THE CAMPAIGNS OF 1813-14.

EXTRACTED
FROM THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF HENRY STEFFENS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1848.

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THE wish to place within the reach of English readers some interesting remarks on the state of political feeling in Germany at the time of Napoleon's occupation of the country, as well as some graphic details of the war of liberation, has been the chief inducement to select the following passages from the life of Henry Steffens. The short personal narrative which precedes the sketches of the war can hardly be called an abridged translation. The substance is culled from six or seven volumes written in the peculiarly rambling style of German autobiographers, and it is rather a selection of the salient points in the author's picture of his character and history connected by some slight touches given in the hope of so introducing the autobiographer to the acquaintance of the readers, that they may accompany him with kinder sympathy through the events of the campaigns.

The Memoirs of Henry Steffens (*Was ich erlebte*) were published in Breslau in 1844, in ten volumes octavo. They are continued up to the year 1840, at which time he wrote from Berlin—"I am now, through the gracious favour of the King, the kindness of men in power, and the friendship of many distinguished men, able in peaceful happiness to devote the last years of my life to science." In 1845 Schelling concluded a

public address at Berlin in honour of the memory of Steffens in the following words:—"And if we have watched with sorrow the failure of his bodily strength, we have also rejoiced to see the mind still firm in power to the last; and those who in his later years have heard the full outpouring of his rich discourse on the highest themes, while his soul glowed with heart-winning benevolence, will join with me in saying that he died in his youth at last."

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MEMOIRS

OF

HENRY STEFFENS.

CHAPTER I.

Rendsburg—Family Records—Parentage—Travelling in Norway—Helsingør—Early Education—The First Great Sorrow—Roeskilde—Copenhagen—Introduction to Relatives—First Romance—Mother's Death—The French Revolution, 1778—1790.

IN the year '90 of the last century my youngest brother was an ensign quartered in the fortress of Rendsburg. The officers of the garrison were not in point of cultivation even favourable specimens of an army which in the course of a seventy years' peace had fallen into stupid inactivity, and my brother, who sought to keep pace with the intellectual development of that exciting period, was glad to form an intimacy with a young French officer, an emigrant of high birth, whose society at least afforded him an opportunity of improvement in the French language. It was common with the emigrants at that time to anticipate their restoration with the utmost confidence; this young man, therefore, discoursed incessantly on the grandeur and riches of his family, and as he knew my brother's slender means, he was lavish in his promises of future favour, regarding him as a highly-educated young officer, who might one day be worthy of patronage in France.

Though my brother neither cared for his friend's promises nor shared his hopes, he listened with good nature to the boasting history of a long line of noble ancestors, and when asked to

give in return some records of his own descent, which the young exile presumed must have been noble, though less illustrious than his own, he promised to comply. After some delay he produced a tin case which contained an ancient document. It was a parchment deed; at the foot was a blue silk ribbon worked in silver, to which a box containing a huge seal was fixed. "Here is my patent of nobility," said my brother, and the Frenchman acknowledged with chagrin that not one of the records of his noble family looked half so splendid. After studying it for some days he returned it, lamenting that his small skill in the German language was not sufficient to decipher it: he begged for a translation, and my brother indulged him with the following:—

"Be it made known to all by these presents, that we the Elders of the Worshipful Guild of Surgeons and Barbers of the town of Wilster in the duchy of Holstein, certify that the worthy and highly-skilled master Nicholas Zimmermann hath appeared before us in behalf of Henry Steffens, the lawfully-born son of the honourable and worthy Henry Steffens, citizen and brandy-distiller, and maketh oath that the aforesaid Henry Steffens hath fulfilled his three years' apprenticeship to the said Nicholas Zimmermann, and hath conducted himself towards his master and all persons as a decent, industrious, and honourable student," and so forth.

"A noble family indeed!" exclaimed the scornful emigrant. It is scarcely necessary to add that the intimacy ended with the disclosure. I still possess this document, which is the only family record in existence. It is natural for every man to uphold the honour of his ancestry: while therefore I confess that my grandfather's calling was not precisely that which I should most desire to be able to record, I must be allowed to urge that the pernicious article he manufactured had not been in those days so destructively abused as it has in later times. I therefore persist in honouring his memory as a worthy burgher of the town of Wilster. His life besides had begun under better prospects: my great-grandfather had been a rich merchant, and had failed; my father, though born after his death, used to repeat family legends of the large baskets full of silver plate which were carried from the house on his misfortunes.

My grandfather, the only child of the once rich merchant, took refuge with some distant relatives in Surinam; he married a Dutch woman, and he returned to his own country before he had realized an independent fortune.

My father was born in Berbice in 1744; being of an enterprising character, it was not surprising that he chose surgery for his profession, since industry and talent so applied were sure to obtain a position of high respectability. He accompanied the Danish troops as an army surgeon to Mecklenburg, when that war with Russia was impending which had it been declared must have ended so disastrously for Denmark. When peace was ratified without a conflict my father went to Copenhagen to complete his studies; on them he expended all his small resources: that they were not confined to the mere subjects of his profession was evident by his intimate acquaintance with literature in general, whether poetry, natural history, or what was then called philosophy. He was a man of strong understanding and acute feeling, and when he was sent as surgeon of the district to Odsherred, a remote but highly productive country of north-east Siaelland, he had the good fortune to win the heart of the daughter of a considerable landed proprietor named Bang, a member of one of the first families in the country.

A few years after his marriage my father was appointed to superintend the establishment of an hospital at Stavanger, on the coast of Norway, and I, his second son, was born there a few months after his arrival. He was stationed a few years subsequently in Trondheim as regimental surgeon, and afterwards returned to Denmark, and in the same capacity was stationed in Helsingör, in Roeskilde, and then in Copenhagen, where my mother died; lastly he removed to Rendsburg, where he died himself.

We were six in family, four sons and two daughters. It has been our fate to be scattered from our youth, and I think with sadness of the few who yet remain, and of the far separated graves of the departed, while I, the only survivor of the brothers, am finishing my days in a country of adoption, having reached an age exceeding that of my brothers or my father. My three brothers all were distinguished in their professions, and obtained the notice of their sovereign.

I was born in 1773; three weeks later my friend Ludwig Tieck was born in Berlin, and the same day Hardenberg (Novalis) was born at Wiessenfels.

One of my earliest recollections is of the journey across Norway in the depth of winter, when I accompanied my parents from Trondheim to Helsingör in December, 1779. I travelled in a sledge with an apothecary named Bull, grandfather of the celebrated violinist. Closely packed up as we were, I was conscious of little besides the frequent upsetting of the sledge. Once, in particular, I found myself lying in the snow in the dark; I must have been sleeping, and was awakened by the concussion, and heard the exclamation "The fifth time!" I have since often heard how nearly it had been our last: we were travelling through Drivdalen, a deep valley of the high Dovre pass; the road ran by the side of an abyss, a river foamed beneath; the road leaned towards the precipice on one side, while a high wall of rock rose abruptly on the other; just there our sledge was overturned, and had we not fallen against some props of a rotten railing, there would have been little now to tell either of Ole Bull or me.

I have a vivid impression of our first residence in Helsingör. A small street led to the Sound. Ours was the last house on the strand, and a high flight of steps led to the first floor. My parents took possession of the desolate-looking, empty rooms under many hardships; a little furniture was gradually collected and arranged, but the winter passed heavily away in the midst of family anxieties; there seemed little prospect of any practice for my father in his profession, and household cares and wants were pressing. I remember sad, gloomy days when my father became impatient and morose, and my mother moved quietly about in silent gentle sorrow: it was then that my whole soul first clung to her in love.

We were sent to a day-school. I was a precocious child; I had been able to read very early, and soon began to attempt little compositions both in prose and verse, but it was not then the custom to notice and encourage any unusual attainments in children. My father was a man of strong impulse. Endless annoyances consequent on his narrow circumstances had made him sterner than was natural to his really kind disposition:

he was besides an admirer of Rousseau ; we children therefore gained but little sympathy from him for many hardships which we suffered, and much unfair treatment which we underwent at school. My mother grieved for us, and longed to temper the severity with which we were brought up ; but her drooping health kept her from active interference, and she was accustomed to yield in all things to her husband. Our lot would have been harder still had not his genuine love for her often restrained and softened him.

I must record the first very deep grief which wrung my childish feelings. We had a dog, older than myself, who was as much a member of the family as any of the children, or as the faithful maid, Maren, who lived with us from my father's marriage till his death. He became so diseased that it was thought impossible to keep him ; my father determined that he should be drowned, but would not let a stranger do the work. I fancy yet I see how the dear animal followed my father with a loving look and sprang into the boat with signs of joy, for he had been accustomed to go with him in all his journeys—how the mother, the children, and the maid remained behind in sad suspense—how, clinging round our sick mother, we all felt united and endeared to each other by a common sorrow—and how, when we had waited long in speechless expectation, our father appeared again in tears, and we all sobbed aloud—it was the first grief which we all understood and shared together.

. . . . My father's new house was very different. There was a long row of windows on the ground-floor, and a gable story above : it was of wood, but gaily painted, and the cheerful, richly furnished rooms might be seen through the bright windows ; a large reception-room extended the whole length of the façade behind, which was adorned by chandeliers, and was kept closed excepting when large parties were received. That was my father's season of prosperity : he had obtained the largest practice in the wealthy town ; he was able to indulge his taste for society, and all the principal inhabitants assembled often in his hospitable house.

We were allowed to observe those great assemblies only from

a distance, for it was then not customary to introduce children in society: we used to stand in the court behind the house, and peep with eager curiosity into the brilliantly lighted room; we could see the card-tables and observe the company as they moved about and talked, and my imagination used to be filled with a fantastic notion of the wonderful importance of the things they must be saying.

There was no spot, however, in our whole grand house, so bright and happy as the cheerful children's room; that was a charming scene of true enjoyment: beyond the court we saw our neat pretty garden, which stretched out to the Sound, and before us lay the Sound itself, crowded often by many hundred ships of every nation.

1785.—In my twelfth year my father was obliged, as regimental surgeon, to remove to Roeskilde. Few have taken such intense delight in all that is beautiful and wonderful in nature as I have throughout life. The country near Roeskilde is very lovely: the town stands in the deepest recess of a bay of the Cattegat, which sweeps far into the land; the waters were once deep enough for vessels of large size to approach the town, but the bay has become shallow, and none but very small craft are able now to float. The shores all round are richly wooded, and we used to count from our garden no less than eighteen churches, scattered over the bright landscape. The pastoral tranquillity of the scene was most attractive to young minds, accustomed to a bold coast and a roaring sea, and it was there, roving in quiet, contemplative enjoyment, that my love of natural philosophy began; I collected plants, and, assisted by an old folio borrowed from my father's library, learnt to examine and arrange them under their barbarous Latin names; but Krüger's 'Natural Philosophy' was my greatest treasure. I remember the industry with which I studied Newton's theory till I found that without some degree of mathematical knowledge the attempt was hopeless; our school taught no mathematics, and I searched in vain for works upon the subject in my father's library, but I did not rest till I obtained one, and then I soon was competent to follow Krüger's meaning.

I owe all my religious impressions to my mother ; truly I may call her the guardian angel of my life ; she was so in the most solemn sense of the expression, and when, in later years, in the midst of confusion and distraction, I have felt the warnings of reproving conscience, her anxious, thoughtful look has risen in my memory, the same as when in childhood she first taught me to know and love something beyond this world. She lived continually in the expectation of approaching death, and I remember regarding her as a sanctified being, belonging to the world where she was going rather than to that on which I in my young years was entering. Once, when she was supposed to be dying, the secluded sanctuary of the sick room, which had been closed to us for weeks, was opened to the children : we all stood round the bed ; my father was bent down, overpowered ; I was to read the prayer. My mother raised herself ; and how shall I describe the comfort when her sweet voice spoke of her joy and thankfulness, and of the faith with which she left us in the hands of God ? I remember falling on my knees and wishing that I might die too with my mother.

But what shall I say of the hours which I passed in her sick-room when she recovered from that dangerous crisis—of that closer intercourse which I enjoyed with her, and which lasted till her death ? They were not times of prayer, nor yet of teaching—something of both : her gentle encouragement gave me power to speak ; I imparted every newly acquired light, every idea, every doubt. I never remember her spirits to have been either excited or depressed—all was placid and resigned ; and even when she spoke of her relation to my father, which, in a religious point of view, did not fulfil her earnest longings, it was always in a tender and forbearing tone.

My parents' prosperous circumstances darkened when they quitted Helsingör. They then feared, and the event proved how justly, that the rural district would afford no compensation for the ample income they were obliged to leave. After a time my father, finding that his pay alone could not support the most frugal household, begged to be exchanged into an infantry regiment stationed in Copenhagen ; we therefore abandoned our small

but pleasant home in Roeskilde, with hopeful expectation of finding better fortune in the capital: such hopes are often disappointed, and they were so in my parents' case; yet it was long before they were quite abandoned, and in the mean time the children at least were happy.

. . . . The multiplicity of new objects in the capital excited my imagination and bewildered my intellect in a strange degree: the quiet harmony of mind which I had enjoyed in our retreat at Roeskilde had deserted me, never, alas! to return in such perfection. I was, for a time, thrown much on my own resources, and I perceived with dismay that facts escaped me, and knowledge of the most elementary character became confused, and that my mind was tending towards a sort of chaos—happily that chaos proved the teeming precursor of another state of order, but it was not surprising that while I was in that condition, a young man who was engaged to direct our studies previously to our examination for admission into the university, should pronounce me utterly incapable of ever realizing any extent of knowledge. My father had hoped much from my abilities, and dismissed the tutor, whom he blamed for want of competence. I cannot say much of the attainments of his successor, but his anxiety to do his utmost for us was extreme; and I had used the short interval between the attendance of the two instructors with such determined diligence, that when the day of examination arrived I passed, as well as my brothers, with considerable credit.

. . . . On my mother's side we had many relations in Copenhagen, who were rich and filled important stations. My mother's brother held an office the title of which I cannot exactly remember, but it was one of the highest in the state, and he called himself De Bang; we paid him a ceremonious visit, and were each presented in our turn. I have a chilling recollection of his stiff grandeur, and of the proud civility of the wife, who scarcely condescended to be called aunt. These were the people whom we had thought so much about when we were at a distance; there was a strange contrast between our satisfaction in the relationship when we were far off, and our mortification when we

approached them—then we were honoured, now oppressed, by the connection; we may have judged too harshly the feelings which prompted our cold reception, but the inevitable result was to exasperate my father's proud spirit and increase the independence of his temper.

Our relationship to another uncle, Professor Bang, was far differently acknowledged; he was a man of true benevolence, though narrow in his views on many subjects, especially religion. As a physician, enjoying the confidence of the most distinguished persons in the country, he had many opportunities of indulging in works of charity, and he was ever ready to do good service to every member of his family. I never call to mind the diminutive figure, and the round face beaming with good humour and benevolence, without remembering with gratitude all the unwearying pains he took for my advancement, and without feeling deep regret that, for his sake alone, I have not more fulfilled his generous hopes.

I am still highly entertained when I remember the incidents of my first romance; it occurred when I was hardly fifteen; my enthusiasm for the beautiful in nature, with the habit of seeing all things through an atmosphere of poetry, was sure to lead me to invest some living object with my dreamy notions of perfection. There was a girls' school opposite our house; my divinity was soon selected, and it is impossible to say how much of her ideal charms owed their existence to the closed blinds, through which alone I had an opportunity of worshipping across the street.

A passion could not exist without a confidant; to fill the aching void, I chose a schoolfellow, whom we had left behind at Roeskilde, and a secret correspondence with him, filled with my glowing effusions, completed all my wishes.

One of the strict rules in our family forbade that any letters should be sent without being first read over to my father. I tried to hint my important communication in mysterious language, and to involve the sentences so that the meaning might escape detection; and my hopes to that effect were stronger, as my brothers had also letters to be read, and my father often took but little notice of them.

My turn came—my heart beat violently; my father ha

scarcely seemed to hear my brothers ; but I had only just begun when he laid down his pen and listened with intense attention. I read with trembling voice, and tried to skip the subject, but it went on through the whole epistle—"What stuff have you got hold of?" he exclaimed in cool displeasure, and he took my letter from me. Such a scene of dismay succeeded ! My brothers were terrified. "Leave the room," said my father ; and as I went I saw my poor mother lift herself up from the couch in amazement and dismay.

An hour passed while my brothers crowded round to know my sin, and I stood a silent culprit. The old maid-servant came in—"Oh, master Henry ! how could you grieve your poor sick mother so?" The tutor was sent for ; and in the very depth of my despair I almost laughed when I overheard him say, "Such a letter ! and the boy not even confirmed yet !" I was recalled to the paternal presence ; my father had taken up the affair in a most serious light—what could I wish more ? I now was a miserable lover, persecuted by my parents ! My romance could not be more perfect ; it was a humiliating descent when truth obliged me to confess that a distant look through the school window-blinds was all I had on which to build it. I was annihilated with jokes and ridicule ; but my young spirits soon rose again, and helped me to take a whimsical view of the affair, and so to stand as conqueror on the ruins of my first attachment.

I have since learned that my parents were, in fact, highly amused, though they thought it right to seem severe ; and that they were delighted with evidences of power in my composition, which led them to expect great things from my opening talent. I must also confess that when the letter, some years afterwards, came into my hands, I found, to my surprise, touches of genuine poetry, and such boldness in the images and vigour of expression as I have never equalled in any later compositions.

My mother died, or rather faded gradually away ; gently and progressively as her end approached, her death came at last as a terrible surprise upon us—so little did there seem to warn us of the final change. My whole existence seemed to hang upon her last faint breath. Every one of those long-past hours when my

soul used to join with hers in pure devotion swept at that instant through my memory, and conscience whispered, for the first time, that other feelings and new hopes had sprung up to estrange me from that holy intercourse, and I felt a trembling dread that I had parted from the sanctuary for ever . . . The minister passed us as he left her room ; he seemed greatly affected, and we were told to enter. We surrounded the bed. Our mother lay with placid look, apparently without suffering ; she raised herself and blessed us ; the picture of her glorified countenance—radiant with an expression we had never seen before—her large lustrous eye, and her cheek flushed with a passing tint of rose, is still before me ; her usually low voice sounded clearer than we were used to hear it when she turned to me, and said, " Henry ! you must preach the Gospel of your Lord. He has chosen you and bestowed gifts upon you for his service ; be true to him and to yourself, and may God bless you." She sank back, her eyes closed, and we were taken away ; a few minutes later, and the door stood open ; we looked on the departed, and I knelt in an agony of tears beside the bed ; all that my talents or my tastes had led me to desire, all my bright hopes and prospects were offered up at that moment. I vowed solemnly to accomplish my mother's wish ; I resolved that henceforth I must be devoted to the ministry.

Alas for human nature ! life in full vigour will vindicate its right ; but that sad hour has borne a keen reproof when I have thought of the solemn vow, and how it has never been fulfilled. It is true, I felt convinced that my mother erred in her judgment of my character, and in her belief that I had an especial calling for the sacred office ; yet not the less did her dying words lie heavily upon my conscience. In the midst of intellectual delights and in the most successful studies, I have felt that, after all, the clearest truth which I could realize was the darkness of her grave ; I know no truer evidence of life than her death ; and if, oppressed by cares or bewildered in the intricate mazes of obscure philosophy, I have preserved the seed of true religion, however far too little cherished or improved—if I have kept that seed deep in my heart, and have not dared to make a light or vain display of it upon my lips—for this I have to bless that death-bed scene, which has been a holy treasure through my lif

I must not omit to describe a most important epoch of my life. It was the time when the history of the modern world was to begin afresh—when all Europe, even all mankind, in some degree suffered a convulsion—it was the time of the Revolution.

I was sixteen. My father came home in great excitement; he called all his sons about him; we gazed with wonder at his agitation, and waited anxiously to learn his news. "Children!" said he, "you are to be envied; what a period of happiness and prosperity now lies before you! and if you do not now work out your independence, the fault will be your own; all crushing distinctions of rank are at an end—all poverty will disappear—and small and great will all be armed alike, to fight the same battle, on the same field. Oh that I were young like you! but my powers have been crippled; barriers have restrained me, which will not be opposed to you." His emotion was so great that he burst into tears, and it was long before he could proceed. We had lived in such seclusion that we knew little of the movements in Paris, which had given warning of the crisis. My father at length told us of the first scenes in the Palais Royal—of the enthusiasm of the people—of their resistance to the reigning power—of the hopes that they would succeed;—and lastly, of the storming of the Bastille, and the liberation of the victims of despotic power.

It was a wonderful time; the Revolution was not French, but European—not so much of governments as of sentiments and opinions; it took deep root in millions of hearts; a sentence had gone forth against mouldering institutions, a victory was won over useless, humiliating distinctions, and the revolution was complete even where no open effort had been made. I was inspired with a boundless hope, and fancied that my whole future was transplanted into a new and richer soil.

CHAPTER II.

Departure from Copenhagen—Odsherred—Dangerous Accidents—Hospital in Copenhagen—The Poor Student's Death—Choice of a Profession—University at Copenhagen—Voyage to Norway—Stavanger—Scenery on the Coast—Bergen—Sogne Fjord—Personal Embarrassments—1791—1794.

THE hopes which had induced my father to reside in Copenhagen had not been fulfilled, and his circumstances became more and more oppressive. At length, under the idea that he might meet with more success in his profession, or at least live more happily in Holstein, his native province, he obtained permission to exchange into a regiment that was quartered in Rendsburg. My brothers were already fixed in their professions, and when my father quitted Copenhagen I left it also to become a tutor to three young children in the family of a near relation at Odsherred. I was eighteen, and no way qualified for the duties which I was obliged to undertake. I was taken from the university while my most important course of study was just beginning; my regret and mortification were extreme, and they deprived me of the power to enjoy the long-wished for freedom of a country life and all the objects in nature which were to me so peculiarly attractive. I would gladly forget a period which I feel was destitute of good both to my pupils and myself, and which was terminated unexpectedly by the second of two accidents which befel me.

I had heated and tired myself one day on a botanizing excursion, and had entered a farm-house to ask for a glass of brandy. The use of brandy on all occasions was then a general custom. I had scarcely emptied the glass when the woman started, and told me in an agony of distress that she had given me by mistake brandy containing arsenic. My terror was extreme: I used such remedies as were at hand, but suffered dreadfully. After some time I was put, half dead, into a carriage and taken back

to Odsherred, where I lay for many days in a dangerous condition. My recovery was, however, complete, and I have since felt no ill effects from the accident.

My second casualty was followed by more lasting consequences: I fell asleep one very hot day in an open field; my hat fell off and left my head exposed to the full power of a burning sun. How long I had remained I cannot tell when a countryman found me lying in a state of insensibility. I recovered partly on being taken home, but my head was seriously affected. The relation in whose house I lived had no doubt observed how little I was qualified to perform the office of a teacher, and was glad to seize the opportunity to replace me by one more efficient; he therefore removed me immediately to Copenhagen and placed me in the hospital where my uncle Bang attended.

The hospital for the sick in Copenhagen is arranged to admit patients of all classes in society, and the ward in which I was placed was appropriated to the use of students at the university and young men of respectable families. I was nearly convalescent when an incident occurred which excited my deepest interest. A young student occupied a bed opposite to me; he was in the last stage of consumption, frightfully emaciated, and unable to speak except by a most painful effort. Yet he did not seem to suffer nor to be aware of his approaching end: his whole thoughts were occupied with his future prospects in this life. He was poor, and meant to support himself by teaching, and said that without he learnt French he could not possibly obtain a situation as a tutor. Some friends, to please his fancy, brought him French books, with a dictionary and grammar. From morning till evening the poor fellow never ceased from study, and all through the night I used to hear him muttering French words without intermission in a strange, false accent; whether he was dreaming or waking I cannot tell: he was very impatient if interrupted for a moment, and highly displeased if any one inquired how he felt—he said it was not fair to interfere with his study. I used to watch him, and his situation made me shudder, and revived serious thoughts which had been forgotten since my earlier years. I had life and health in prospect, and my hopeful aspirations after knowledge and distinction were but little damped by any anxious thoughts of the uncer-

tainty of providing for my support; yet I was overpowered by the solemn thought that all my strivings too would end in death, as certainly, if not so soon, as the poor student's, and the struggle between the claims of science and religion, which I thought had ended, recommenced.

One day the poor invalid studied more eagerly than ever; he seemed to work in haste; he whispered the forms rapidly over to himself, and sought with hurried fingers and a look of eager anxiety for the words he wanted: towards evening he seemed exhausted, but still pursued his work. I could not take my eyes from watching him. Some medical students passed through the ward. I begged them to observe his state, and asked if they would send a clergyman. They approached him and inquired how he felt. "Perfectly well," he said, "only very tired by my studies; I must sleep a little and then begin again." They whispered as they passed that the poor sufferer might live a few days longer, and to send a minister might hurry and destroy him. I only shook my head and placed myself upon the bed so that he could not see me. He seemed to slumber for a time and then to make an effort to resume his work; his hand still grasped the book, but had not power to turn the leaves: his head sank on the pillow,—I heard a slight rattle in the throat—and then his last sigh.

I left the hospital cured, but I was alone and felt forsaken; my two brothers were not in Copenhagen, I had no friend but my uncle, and he received me kindly. I had not yet openly determined on the choice of a profession, and the time was come when I must declare it. Professor Bang had taken it for granted that I was studying for the ministry—my own determination was for science. I felt averse to the theology which was then in vogue in Denmark: it was a mixture of stiff orthodoxy and low rationalism which neutralized each other; the one was received without belief, the other without examination. I still had strong religious feelings, and preserved them as a hidden treasure; but I held them as impressions, not as subjects for investigation. I thought myself incapable of following the subtle disputations of dogmatical learning, while my whole mind was absorbed in the love of natural philosophy. When I confessed that I meant to devote myself to science, my uncle's vexation

was extreme. "You possess nothing at all," he said, "and yet you want to play the gentleman." I saw plainly that he thought it quite superfluous to take individual fitness into consideration in the choice of a profession. Nothing remained for me, therefore, but to resolve to convince him by my industry that I had chosen right. Many men of high authority in science had entertained great hopes of my success; but before my conduct could be proved or those hopes realized, much time must elapse, and in that time I must be supported and my education finished. My difficulties were immense, and I should no doubt have sunk beneath their weight like many others, had not my good uncle determined, in spite of his displeasure, that his promise to protect me which he had given to his sister in her dying hour should be redeemed.

Henceforth I became a member of my uncle's family, and he provided for all my wants. His step-sons, the Mynsters, were my friends, and I rejoiced to join a very cultivated and intellectual society of young men; at the same time I seized every opportunity to help myself. I assisted to prepare the students for examination, gave lessons on several elementary parts of science, and contributed to a journal. I was sometimes rich according to my own ideas, and all that I could spare was spent in books or specimens. My few vexations were but passing shadows, and I always think of that period of my life with satisfaction: it occupied the time from the autumn of 1792 to the spring of 1794, being from my nineteenth to my twentieth year. Most of the members of our circle were older than myself, and have lived out their day; two only of the more distinguished are still living—Mynster, Bishop of Siaelland, Professor Bang's youngest step-son, and Horneman, the professor of botany.

I passed a good examination in all branches of natural philosophy, but I was distinguished in mineralogy. Towards the close of my attendance at the university I began to suffer both in health and spirits; a society offered me a commission to visit the western coasts of Norway for the purpose of collecting specimens and making scientific researches, and I determined to accept it. I was not without misgivings on the subject of ex-

pense, for the small sum to be paid in advance by my employers would be nearly consumed in preparations for the voyage, and my only property consisted in a tolerable library and a good collection of mineral specimens. Youth is, however, apt to overlook impending difficulties, and my longing desire to explore the treasures of the mountains, joined to the hope of regaining health and energy by the excursion, overcame every prudent fear.

. . . . We sailed with a favourable wind, but it changed, and we took refuge in a small harbour a few miles south of Stavanger, my birthplace. As we approached the coast the rocks rose perpendicularly and rugged from the sea, and we sailed between high crags into the secluded harbour. Nothing was visible but water and bare mountains, except here and there a fisher's hut, and one small green patch among the rocks, in the midst of which stood a handsome house; it belonged to a merchant who was tempted by the herring fishery to make an abode in that dreary region; he received us with great hospitality while we remained there wind-bound.

. . . . At length we left the harbour, and on the second night found ourselves in the intricate and wonderful mazes of the rocky Archipelago of the western coast of Norway. The passage to Bergen, to which place we were bound, lies among those islands. My impatience would not let me sleep, and in the twilight of the night (for there was no longer any real darkness) I stood upon the deck and gazed upon the masses of steep rugged rock which surrounded us on every side. The day came on, thick and misty; it rained fast; the mountains were enveloped in the mist, but here and there huge dark masses rose above it, while we heard the raging sea dash against their bases: for a short time I regretted that the heavy atmosphere veiled the outline from our sight, but there was something so mysteriously grand in nature thus veiling her secrets and revealing them by degrees, that I abandoned myself wholly to the sublime impression.

The weather cleared towards noon; immense heights of sharp dark walls of rock stood sometimes suddenly uncovered close before us, or the sweeping clouds opened, and at an amazing altitude we saw the rugged summit of a mountain which rose above the lower mist, and seemed to be poised free in the mid-air. We

felt a crushing sense of the immensity of the mountains which surrounded us, as the south-west wind drove mist and clouds together towards the sea, and the amazing scene lay in the clear sunshine open to our view. There is nothing in Europe to compare with it; the vast ocean suddenly breaks into the very bosom of the mountains, whose shattered sides rise in many places from 4000 to 5000 feet perpendicularly from the water. The rocky islands seem torn and broken through, and stand up in sharp peaks from the sea. As we sailed among them we observed that soon after all around was bathed in sunshine, their craggy sides seemed to detain some lingering clouds which hovered for an instant on their summits, or girdled round them, and then flew off to follow the great mass of vapour in the western sky.

Sometimes we threaded through a narrow pass, again we found ourselves on a wide expanse of water like a lake, encompassed by dark cliffs; then the mountains opened, and we glanced into a valley green with mossy vegetation. At one time we sailed along a wall of rock; the water there was still, and so translucent that we could see the rock beneath it for an immense depth as clearly as that above us. Before us, and at an immense height, we perceived a curved line like a thread illuminated by the sun; it stretched from the cliff above, and bent down towards the sea. It was a waterfall which sprang forward from the mountain; there was no apparent motion,—it was simply a fixed dazzling arch; and the water was dissipated, and every trace of vapour lost in the pure atmosphere, before it reached the sea: we sailed beneath it.

We were two days and as many brilliant nights making our passage through the islands. On the morning of the third we saw a row of white buildings on the brow of some lower hills—they were warehouses, indicating our approach to Bergen. . . .

My apprehensions of being in distress for funds proved far from groundless, and my situation became daily more embarrassing. At length, in the middle of July, I received a small remittance, by means of which I hired a boat and proper apparatus to fish for the mollusca, to collect and examine specimens of

which was a principal object of my mission. I passed six weeks on the wild coast, suffering many hardships and privations: yet it was a period of enjoyment.

At Sogne-Fjord I explored the deep ravines where rocks on either side stand to the height of several thousand feet. The sea rushes up those dark narrow chasms, into the depths of which the sun only reaches for an hour or two even in the height of summer. It is dangerous to venture up them in a boat, for the mountain torrents bring down huge blocks of stone which are projected from the brink of the precipice above into the gulf beneath.

I visited Leierdals-Oven, near Sogne-Fjord, and beheld all the enchantments of the south enclosed in the rude grandeur of northern mountain scenery; the bitter storms of winter never penetrate into those peaceful valleys, but expend their power on the surrounding summits. The snow melts into rain before it falls, and when the summer sun visits them it brings the genial atmosphere of southern climates, while the vegetation remains perpetually fresh from the moisture which descends from the hills above. I have described the scenery and the incidents of that deeply interesting time in my novel of 'The Four Norwegians.'

I found myself once more in my poor room at Bergen, a prey to pressing anxieties, both in regard to my immediate wants and to my future course in life. I had gathered many new and valuable specimens in the course of my excursions, but I failed in the means to compare them and arrange my treasures, and I felt far from satisfied with the result of my geological examination of the country. I was in perplexity, and almost in despair; no support came to me at that time in the pious trust which had so brightened the earlier years of childhood—such consolation was forgotten or seemed extinguished. I felt at length that I must make some strong resolve. I considered that my journey had proved all but fruitless, and that with the miserable results I dared not present myself again in Copenhagen. The idea then occurred to me of going first to Germany; that country was the scene of a vast intellectual development, and I was attracted by the

new philosophy which was struggling for existence. Kant was already known to me, and I longed to participate in the dawning light. I thought that if I were to win distinction in Germany, I could afterwards return to Denmark; the result of my researches in Norway could in the mean time be more effectually arranged in Hamburg, and my friends should receive their first communication from that place. I forgot or undervalued the difficulty I must contend against in my imperfect knowledge of the German language; I knew that I must suffer much, that want and fatigue might lay me on a bed of sickness—but I was resolved. I must not omit to confess an act, partaking strangely of mixed power and weakness, with which I sealed my final determination. In order to prove my strength to meet the hour of trial I held my finger in the flame of the light which stood by me, and kept it firmly there until the wound was deep. I was strengthened by the ordeal, though the after-suffering cost me many sleepless nights.

Among those who had attached themselves to me in my forlorn state in Bergen was a prosperous young merchant; he had learnt my wish to go to Hamburg, knew my circumstances, and proposed to me to undertake the charge of a cargo which he was going to send, saying that my per-centage would produce a considerable sum. Knowing my natural unfitness for any kind of business, I felt compelled to decline the offer, grateful as I was, for I could not but perceive that it had been made only with a view to aid me. He pressed his kindness on me, and it was after a sleepless night that I finally resisted the temptation. I accepted a sum of money which he generously offered, and which would pay my travelling and immediate expenses. I had sanguine hopes that the knowledge I had acquired would serve me well in Germany, and I wrote to my friends in Copenhagen to sell my books and specimens, which I fancied, even parted with below their value, would relieve me from all my liabilities and leave me a considerable sum.

CHAPTER III.

Voyage to Hamburg—Shipwreck—A Faithful Friend—Personal Distress—Glückstadt—Loss of a Friend—Return to Hamburg—Offer of an Alliance—Illness and Poverty—Rendsburg—Kind Reception—Curious Mode of Introduction—Success—Visit to Copenhagen—Holstein—Peasantry—Wilster—My Father's Death—Count Schimmelman—Preparation for Travel, 1794.

I SAILED from Bergen in a brig on the 15th of October ; we were detained by contrary winds, and it was not till the end of November that we actually commenced our voyage to cross the North Sea in that stormy season. Our captain was ignorant and uncivil, and after being driven towards the coast of Scotland and encountering many storms we found ourselves at last at the mouth of the Elbe. It was very heavy weather, and the gale drove us into the river. Towards evening we tried to anchor, but without success ; the brig drove, she struck, the masts were carried away, and she remained a perfect wreck.

I left the sinking ship in the last boat with fifteen men, and in the night we were carried by the current four or five miles out into the open sea. I was so exhausted that I felt scarcely sensible of our danger, for I had helped during many days to work the ship, and had just fallen asleep in the cabin when she struck, and I lay all night, half-unconscious in the bottom of the boat while the waves dashed over us. In the morning a frigate picked us up.

I had a large Newfoundland dog on board with me ; it was a faithful creature, ever ready to protect me in case of danger : he was left in the ship, and I was grieved to think that I had lost him. When, however, we had been some little time on board the frigate, I heard a splashing at the side—it was my dog. Could he have followed us on the open sea that stormy night, or had he seen the frigate in the morning and made towards it ? I could not tell, but it pleased me to believe that he had been

guided by his love for me, and I felt bound to return his attachment, though I knew not how I should support him; I had, in fact, lost everything. The small sum I had brought with me in cash had been nearly consumed by paying my passage and expenses on the voyage; my draft upon the merchant in Hamburg was lost with all my other property, and even my good watch was left in the cabin when I sprang up hastily on the striking of the ship.

I left the hotel in Hamburg, in which we had taken refuge upon landing, found my way into the town, and crept into a small garret. It was a brilliant time for the city. Pichegru had won a series of successes in Belgium; Holland was open to him, and a number of Dutch refugees of the first families had crowded into Hamburg. A vast influx of trade and riches was the consequence of the shutting up of other ports. I sought out the merchant L——, on whom the bill which I had lost was drawn. I told my history and named the sum, and to my surprise and great relief he paid me instantly. He had already received letters from his friend at Bergen preparing him to see me, and he knew also of the shipwreck. He was not among the higher class of merchants, nor was he a man of cultivation; but he received me most kindly, asked me to his plain but hospitable table, and was dissatisfied when I stayed away.

Under my circumstances there was little chance of study; the unfulfilled task of communicating with the society which had sent me to Norway was a heavy burden on my mind. I had lost all my collection and my books, and instead of a scientific report I had the bare story of my shipwreck to detail. I feared the excuse would seem like a fiction. True, I had witnesses in Bergen of the diligence with which I had worked. I wrote to beg their testimony; but still the daring, thoughtless step which I had taken in thus throwing myself helpless into a foreign land seemed, even to myself, so like a foolish dream, that I could hardly hope my friends would understand the motives which had governed me. I wrote and entreated them to sell my books and property in Copenhagen; their answers happily contained no doubts of my integrity, but they stated the great difficulty of

disposing of my property, and the fear that, by a forced sale, they would produce so small a sum that it would aid me little. In the mean time my resources dwindled fearfully—I could not work, I only tried to forget my cares in the ever-varying scenes of the great city.

It was a fine winter—the snow covered the ground; my small garret was hired only by the week, my poor wardrobe was easily made into a small package, and so taking all my possessions with me I went forth on a wandering excursion. I expected to supply my moderate wants more cheaply in the country than I could in Hamburg, and my faithful dog followed me as friend and protector. It was partly on his account that I had determined to quit the city, for, obliged as I was to restrict my outlay to the uttermost, I found his daily food a severe expense. I wandered among towns and villages, avoiding only the direction of Rendsburg, where my father lived, and so came at length to the fortress of Glückstadt. I lingered there, tempted by the kindness of the host of the small inn at which I stopped; they were poor people, and had lost their property by a bankruptcy, and their only child had perished in Greenland. It seemed a comfort to them to condole with me when I related my shipwreck and misfortunes, and to receive my sympathy on their still heavier sorrows.

The wall of the castle and a large moat were near the inn. Dogs were forbidden to be upon the works, and I had many fears about my faithful Newfoundland. One day I wandered out, thinking over my trials and those of my poor host, when I heard a shot. I hardly know why I was seized with such alarm. My dog had followed me. I did not see him: I called, but he did not come, and I perceived the mark of his feet where he had clambered up the wall. I had already engaged the sentinel, by a small present, to be careful of my dog; he now approached me sorrowfully; he had seen only just a portion of the poor dog's back as he leaped among the snow; he had not recognized him, and he had fired. I found the poor animal—he licked my hand, and died.

All my circumstances must be remembered to understand how terribly I felt the loss; my kind host sympathized with me, but I could stay no longer there. I paid him, and the reckonin

was so trifling that I could not but perceive that the good people merely made a charge to save my feelings.

I went forth again without my friend and returned to Hamburg. I felt indescribably forsaken. The little daily self-denials which I had been obliged to make for my poor dog's sake had been an interest to me, and it seemed as if fate closed on me when I lost the last living thing which was attached to me. I had passed two wasted months—my very intellects seemed failing under my despair.

I returned to Hamburg. My friend L—— welcomed me with joy, and his wife and sister overwhelmed me with questions and reproaches that I had quitted them so suddenly; they had looked for me in vain, and suffered many fears on my account. I told them all, and then the merchant asked to speak to me alone. How great was my amazement when he proposed to me to learn his business! “I have not been blind,” he said, “to your regard for my sister.” His plan was all arranged: I was to marry the sister, and in due time become his partner.

I was shocked at the mistake, and terrified with the fear of wounding the feelings of those who had been so good to me. The sister was much older than I; she was far from being attractive, and her defective education had allowed us little opportunity of conversation. No sentiment deeper than a thankful return for kindness had ever crossed my mind, nor do I think that she had any warmer preference for myself.

In such perplexing moments a sort of instinct frequently avails more than hours of reflection. I saw instantly that the two parts of the proposal were conditionally annexed to each other. I represented, therefore, the impossibility of accepting the first; I urged my belief that the assistance of my friends would relieve me from the existing distress, which I regarded merely as temporary, and I dwelt on my utter incapacity for business, and my still absorbing love of science, and I so brought the first condition under prominent consideration, that the second was but distantly and delicately alluded to. I succeeded so well that I retreated from my dilemma without in the least falling in my kind friend's estimation.

L——'s father-in-law proposed to me to leave the hotel where I had passed the first evening after my return, and hire a small

room in a house belonging to him, at a very trifling rent—it was again a garret. I passed three or four weeks there, my circumstances darkening daily, and my letters from Copenhagen bringing no prospect of relief. As my want increased I abstained from visiting either the L— family or a Danish friend from whom I had also received kindness. I lived for eight days on fruit and bread; at length I had no money left, and I was very ill. The house in which I lived was a public-house, frequented by sailors and persons of indifferent character. I returned one evening to my room, feeling extremely ill, when, as I passed by the open door of a room, I saw that it was lighted up and that dancing was going on. I retreated to my bed and fell into a dreamy, feverish sort of sleep; I was still aware of the music and the noisy mirth, and they drove me almost to distraction; about midnight I heard no more music, but the uproar had increased, and as I waked I heard footsteps on the stairs, and a crowd of drunken persons broke into my room and fought furiously by my bed; the people of the house came and restored order, but I believe I should have perished in that last extremity had not my kind friends sought me out that same day and succoured me with every aid which benevolence and medical skill could give me.

My proud spirit was at length subdued. I saw that I could not stay in Hamburg; my father was living not far off at Redsburg, and I resolved to write and tell him all. I had been previously advised by my friends in Copenhagen to go to Kiel, and there, by teaching or by giving public lectures, to try to gain a living; why I did not adopt that course whilst some little money still remained at my command I cannot tell, but now that I had expended all I wrote to entreat my father to receive me until I might be supplied from Copenhagen with means to enable me to go to Kiel. I knew my father: reproaches such as I felt I well deserved, formed no part of his reply. He wrote—"My last bread will I share with thee—hasten hither, for I long for thee."

I was soon at Redsburg with my poor father; his own circumstances were sadly reduced, and it was a bitter punishment to me to feel that I was obliged to increase his burdens. Yet he tried to make me forget my own misfortunes and to believe that my presence was a comfort to him; he still clung to the hopes which he had once built upon my opening powers, and

held firm to the belief that success was yet before me, and while I waited in continual disappointment for the expected remittance from Copenhagen, he comforted and encouraged me; my brothers also treated me most kindly, especially the younger, who was quartered in the garrison as a subaltern; we spent our time together in mutual improvement, and I felt once more happy in returning energy for study and renewed confidence in my own powers. We lived in great retirement, but very happily, and I felt quite equal to endure the only small misfortune which was reserved to complete the wreck of my former fortunes. News arrived from Copenhagen that my last remaining property had perished; my friends had been actually negotiating a sale of my books and cabinets of natural history to the Crown Prince, the present king of Denmark, then ten years old, but before it was completed a fire broke out in the building where they had been deposited and they were all consumed. On the other hand a pleasant though trifling incident occurred to cheer my hopes and justify my father's partial faith in my future career: a number of the Literary Gazette appeared, in which some work of mine was highly praised, and it was a great joy to me to see my father's satisfaction.

A whole year passed while I was recovering my usual vigour both of mind and body, and it was then determined that I should try whether my talents would avail me in the University of Kiel, and I was furnished with an introduction from Professor Bahl in Copenhagen to Professor Fabricius at Kiel. I possessed five dollars when I left Rendsburg to begin my new career.

I arrived in Kiel in February, 1796; two years had passed since I had quitted Copenhagen, and I felt that I was beginning a new epoch of my life. I was not without fear of my success, but my resolutions were strong to turn every hour to the best account. Fabricius was already known to me as the first entomologist of his day; I waited on him and was prepossessed by his appearance: he was a little, benevolent-looking man, and received me joyfully, as if he had expected me: "Your engagements in the university," he said, "can begin only with the next term; in the mean time you must live; there are here many families who wish their children to be instructed in natural history; the

receipts will be but moderate, but they will assist you till we can appoint you to some more important office."

This was happiness indeed ! I entered upon my new duties with gratitude and hope, and soon found that four or five hours daily, employed in teaching, furnished me with sufficient for my wants. I had access to the library of the university and pursued my studies with avidity, rejoicing in the consciousness of strengthening and expanding intellect.

I enjoyed the society of many men of science, who received me with the utmost kindness. I must relate the circumstances of my first introduction to the learned professor Cramer, since they were truly original. He had a country-house in the suburbs, and when I called to pay my respects I was told I should find him in his garden. I heard the sound of laughter and merry voices as I approached, and saw an elderly gentleman bent forwards in the middle of a walk, while several boys were playing leap-frog over him ; a lady who stood by him said, as soon as she perceived me, " Cramer, Steffens is there." " Well," he said, without moving, " leap then." I was delighted with the new mode of introduction to a man of science, took my leap clean over him, and then turned round to make my bow and compliments. He was delighted, and as my good leap also won the hearts of the young people, I was at once admitted as an acquaintance in the happy circle. Notwithstanding this quaint reception, Cramer was a man of deep reflection with all the quiet manner of a true philosopher.

My lectures began under flattering circumstances : the number of students at the university did not exceed three hundred, and above seventy put down their names to attend my class. I had claimed no entrance fees, being at first timid about expressing my subject well in a language with which I was not perfectly familiar ; I had not, however, lectured many weeks, before a very considerable sum was forwarded to me by the class collectively as a testimony of their value of my teaching. I hesitated for a moment whether I should accept it, but I reflected that it would be unwise to let false pride induce me to reject such well-meant kindness : the sum was very welcome, and my acceptance cemented my connection with the givers, for it is a part of human nature to value all things according to the de

of sacrifice which has been made to obtain them. I have observed that unpaid lecturers are rarely carefully attended.

In April, 1797, I took my degree. The dean of the faculty of Philosophy did me the honour to celebrate the occasion, and nearly all the professors were present; and having at length established some reputation as an author and university lecturer, in a language new to me, I felt that I might once more present myself without disgrace before my Copenhagen friends. The conditions which I laid upon myself in Bergen, to win some degree of reputation before I would again appear amongst them, seemed fulfilled; for my German work on the study of mineralogy, fully sensible as I was of its deficiencies, encouraged me to believe that I should eventually take the place I so much coveted amongst the authors of Germany. They were brilliant, happy days which I then passed in Copenhagen, retracing scenes of past enjoyment, and reviving early friendships. My kind uncle Bang still maintained his former confidence in my powers and my ultimate success in life, and even the Society in whose service I had gone to Norway assumed the blame of my misfortunes for having supplied my wants so scantily. After a few weeks I returned to my small study and my course of duties in the university of Kiel.

I was tempted by the lovely scenery of Holstein, and by the shady woods which surrounded Kiel, to make many rambles. One beech wood was my favourite haunt. It was bathed on one side by the sea, and on the other bounded by the hills; the foliage was so rich, the green so tender, the shades so peacefully retired, that Siaelland and all its magic loveliness seemed to rise again before me. When I wandered in the plains there was but one defect to spoil the pleasure of an excursion. The high hedges or fences, called in Holstein "redder," hide the view and shade the roads, so that even in the finest summer weather they are seldom dry; it is only where the ground ascends that the rich landscape is perceived, and the luxuriant fields, each bounded by its living fence, look like so many highly cultivated gardens. I was pleased with the rough and simple-mannered peasantry, and with their cheerful cottages, strangely neat and scrupulously

clean, though the cows and oxen live under the same roof with the family. When the large doors are opened, and through the rows of cows and horses standing in the dark on each side, the kitchen hearth is seen beyond, the smoke curling up into the roof, which is the only chimney, and all the brightly polished brass and copper kitchen utensils, of which there is always a superabundance, shining in the distance, the effect is very singular and pleasing.

In the western part of Holstein the peasantry were small, independent proprietors of the land. A little incident struck me as being very characteristic of their manners. I was in the marshes near Wilster, the place whence my family originally came, and a young lawyer of my acquaintance proposed to introduce me to one of those independent countrymen who possessed a large property. I entered the room, where a fat peasant was sitting, his head covered by a three-cornered hat. I was named to him; he just raised his hat, and put it on again, nodded familiarly to me, and offered me a glass of wine. After some hesitation I received the glass, when he looked at me with a good-natured, pitying sort of smile, and said in the platt Deutsch, "It is a good while, I fancy, since you have been so lucky as to taste wine." The Holstein peasant, in his proud, self-satisfied reserve, is a contrast to the frank, generous, and cheerful Norwegian, who is, however, fully conscious of his independence.

The opposition between the aristocracy and the liberally disposed middle classes was strong in Holstein at that time. The progress of education it is true occasioned a degree of communication between the nobles and the burgher class, but there was no cordiality on either side. Holstein was then the centre of a literature which was influential throughout Germany. Lessing, during his residence in Hamburg, had enlightened Holstein by his powerful mind; the original thinker Claudius lived in Wandsbeck; Boye in Muldorf, as well as the celebrated aged Niebuhr; the severe Rector Boss ruled not only in the schools at Euten, but through all the province; and Klopstock and Goethe were at that time honoured there, as they were later throughout Germany. I made a new acquaintance—one who had the most important influence on me, and brought me at once into the midst of the intellectual flood which was pouring on in Germany—it was with Rist. He came from Jena, where he had

heard *Fichte*. Henceforward, though I held independent views, I belonged to a circle of young men who were in some sense the followers of *Fichte*.

I was summoned to Rendsburg in consequence of the dangerous illness of my father. My improved position was the last comfort which cheered his life of trial. He had shared in my anxieties at Rendsburg, and felt for my humiliation without uttering a reproach, and he seemed afterwards to have outlived the sense of his own misfortunes in the triumph of my success at Kiel; it is impossible to sum up all that I owe to his having so spared me in his tenderness. I found him in the last extremity, and a few hours later I received his last breath and closed his eyes.

Travelling was always the great object of my wishes, and there was no country in Europe where so much assistance was granted to young men of promise, whether in art or scientific pursuits, to improve themselves by travel, as in Denmark. Many of my former friends, aided by such funds, had passed through Kiel, and they had excited my own hopes of being similarly fortunate. By Hensler's kind assistance my desire was made known to Count Schimmelmann, and I was shortly afterwards desired to wait upon him in Copenhagen. I there found that my friend Rist, who was living in Count Schimmelmann's house, had, as I suspected, been the kind promoter of my wishes; he also obtained for me a reception there, and for the first time in my life I was received into the private circle of one of the highest personages in the land. Count Schimmelmann, then minister of finance, was remarkable both for his political career and his great literary genius and attainments. He was born a poet, and had a mind open to the allurements of speculative philosophy. The days which I passed in his charming villa, Söelyst, where he encouraged me to lay before him even my yet unripened thoughts on the great views which were then dawning on the world of science and metaphysics, were among the brightest of my life. They lasted three weeks, and ended by the fulfilment of my most ardent wish. Sufficient funds were granted me, together with the permission to travel in Germany in company with the celebrated botanist Horneman.

CHAPTER IV.

Jena—Schelling—Fichte: his Manner of Lecturing—Goethe—Möller—Military Oppression in Prussia—Bamberg—Unexpected Honours—Weimar—Tharand—Departure for Denmark—Count Schimmelmänn—Opposition—Duke von Augustenburg—Count Reventlow—‘Erasmus Montanus’—Commission to travel in Sweden—French at Lüneburg—Return to Copenhagen—Invitation to Halle.

1798.

MINERALOGY being the subject on which I had earned my chief reputation in Copenhagen, I knew that I should be expected to proceed at once to Freiburg, which was then the great school of Europe for that science; but I felt it impossible to pass by unvisited those scenes where the great intellectual strength of Germany was in progress of development. I lingered a short time both at Jena and at Weimar on my way to the Thuringian mining district; but it was not till after my return that the bright hopes of many years were realized in my intercourse with the great spirits of the age.

On my second visit to Jena, Schelling had just returned from Leipzig, and was beginning a course of lectures. I found students and professors all crowded together to listen to him. Schelling had a most youthful look—he was in fact two years younger than myself; and yet of all the men whose fame attracted me, it was he whom I most longed to know. His manner was decided, with almost an air of defiance; he had large cheek-bones, a high forehead, and wide temples; his countenance was full of energetic self-possession as he stood with his head thrown slightly back and his full clear eye beaming with power. He spoke of the necessity of understanding Nature in her simple oneness (Einheit)—of the light which would make all things clear were they viewed from the point of sight of unity and reason (Vernunft).

He carried my feelings on with him, and I went the same day to visit him; he received me not only kindly, but with joy. I

was the first who, being devoted to a particular department of natural history, was willing to seize and carry out his views. My coincidence of thought with Schelling filled me with a confidence which almost bounded on presumption. . . .

I went from Schelling to Fichte. He was short and robust in figure, but had a searching, commanding look; he made use of most keenly sharp expressions, while he tried by every imaginable means to make his meaning understood, being fully aware of the slender powers of too many of his hearers. He seemed to claim imperiously a strict obedience of thought, forbidding the suspicion of a doubt. "Gentlemen," he began, "compose yourselves; turn your thoughts inwards; we have nothing to do now with anything external, but simply with ourselves." The audience so commanded, seemed each to do his best to retreat within himself: some changed their position and sat bolt upright, some curled themselves up and shut their eyes; all waited breathlessly for the next word. "Gentlemen, let your thought be—the Wall." I perceived that the listeners did all they could to possess their minds fully with the wall, and they seemed to succeed. "Now have you thought—the wall? Now, gentlemen, let your thought be,—that which thought the wall." It was curious to watch the evident perplexity and distress. Many seemed to search about in vain without the power of forming any idea of "what had thought the wall," and I quite understood how many young minds which could so stumble on the threshold of speculative philosophy might be in danger of falling into a most unhealthy state by striving further. Fichte's lecture, however, was most admirable, distinct, and lucid, and I never heard any exposition at all to be compared with it. Fichte made few philosophers, but many powerful reasoners. . . .

My thorough acquaintance with Goethe delighted A. W. Schlegel and his gifted wife, in whose society I spent much time. They asked me once to read part of the 'Faust,' being curious to hear how Goethe's verse would sound in my rough northern accent. The book was not at hand, and I went on from memory, reciting passage after passage as they referred to them. Their pleasure was so great that it was determined that I should forthwith be introduced to the great poet. Another friend, however, anticipated this intention, and I felt as if a momentous event

were taking place when I first stood forward in Goethe's presence. I was obliged instantly to turn away, for tears gushed involuntarily into my eyes. A cruel mortification, however, followed: it was natural perhaps for me to fancy that he must know the feelings which I cherished towards him; he however turned with indifference to another stranger who was introduced at the same time, and I did not receive the slightest notice. He was yet in the prime of life; the well-bred calmness of his manner began to be tiresome, even vexatious to me; I recalled the many histories which were current of his pride and cold condescension, and went home in a most unamiable state of feeling. I hastened the next day to Schlegel; his wife seemed terrified when she heard the bitterness with which I spoke of Goethe, but my northern pride and obstinacy were roused: the more I had honoured, almost worshipped him, the more I felt determined that I never would be twice presented to him.

Many weeks passed over; I tried to lose myself in study, but though my mind was active, a sense as of some great misfortune oppressed me still. At length the celebrated anatomist Loder proposed to give a party on his birthday. A play was to be acted: 'The Actor against his Will' was chosen, and I was asked to fill the principal part. The part contains many declamatory passages from various authors, chosen from old plays of no great merit, and to increase the interest I introduced instead several from the plays of Iffland and Schiller. When we were assembled for the last rehearsal Goethe appeared amongst us, much to my surprise, for his intention of being present had been concealed from me. When he had spoken to the ladies, he came up to me with all the kind manner of an old acquaintance. "I have hoped long," he said, "to see you at my house at Weimar; I have much to talk with you about, much to tell you. After a few days will you return with me?" What happiness! At length I felt that I was at home in Jena; my joy was reflected in the spirit which I threw into my performance. Goethe gave much good advice, and I thought the dramatic scene in 'Wilhelm Meister' was acted in reality. When I came to the part where I was to declaim a passage from Schiller, he came up kindly and said, "Choose from another

author—we had rather that our good friend Schiller were let alone.” I substituted a speech from Kotzebue.

I was in Jena when Fichte was denounced through Reinhart, by order of the Saxon Court, under the charge of atheism. I was greatly excited against what appeared to me an invasion of the right of free inquiry. I took an active part in getting up a petition from the students against the banishment of Fichte from the university. In subsequent more dispassionate seasons of reflection I have inquired doubtingly whether the charge was wholly groundless. I went to Halle and was there introduced to Reichardt by Schlegel and by Goethe, both of whom had recently been reconciled to him, and I entered for the first time the hospitable family, every member of which at once excited a powerful interest. The daughter, who was afterwards to be my wife, was not at that time at home. Reichardt met me with the open frankness which was peculiar to him, but my feeling was not then in his favour. The part he had taken in the French revolution, his intimacy with the leader, and his democratic opinions, had excited the displeasure of the Court of Berlin, and Goethe had been so incensed as to refuse to listen to Reichardt’s musical composition to his own words. Schlegel shared in the same displeasure, and they had only both been lately reconciled: my prepossessions therefore were against him when I first entered his charming dwelling, and was led by him into his little park, which I thought the most perfect of his compositions.

I travelled alone from Frankfort to Bamberg. I had introductions to Röschlaub, Marcus, and Professor Paulus, who expected me. I took the whim to enter the place unattended, carrying my own portmanteau, and when I arrived at the hotel there was much bustle, it being the annual fair. The host and all the waiters were busy, and in answer to my application for a room I obtained only a hasty reply that there was none for me. On repeating my demand a miserable garret was offered to me. I made a display of my purse and was insisting on a better lodging, when a servant entered and inquired if Dr. Steffens had arrived. The waiter answered with a regretful “No;” I declared my identity, and great was my amazement at the sudden change which instantly took place. I found that I was expected

at the hotel, and I was overwhelmed with excuses and civilities. When I shortly afterwards paid a visit to Professor Paulus, I learnt that my name might well be held in high respect by the waiter, for the great room had been engaged for the following day to celebrate my arrival by a dinner, at which all the professors, principal inhabitants, and students were to be present. It was the first time in my life that such public testimony of respect had ever been accorded me; I was a proud and happy man that day, when I took my place between the wife of Paulus and the niece of Marcus, and when two of the most celebrated physicians in all Germany spoke of their respect for me in terms which made me feel both honoured and ashamed. Yet when I retired alone into my chamber I felt that the whole scene was overwrought, and not justified by any reputation which I had yet earned. I was unable to feel perfect satisfaction, but a thought passed over me how, all unfit as I esteemed myself, it might have proved a subject of unmixed rejoicing. I thought of my father's prophetic trust in my future, and of all his partial hopes; I thought how he had upheld and comforted me in misery; I fancied myself once more in our small room in Rendsburg, living in poverty and seclusion, but supported by his indulgence and encouragement; and I thought how should I have rejoiced indeed in honour if I could have imparted it to him. Thus did my day of triumph end in an agony of tears.

I saw the last century expire in Jena, and I passed the first evening of the new one in Weimar, at a masquerade given by the Court. A representation composed by Goethe commenced the evening, and towards midnight I joined Goethe, Schiller, and Schelling in a retired boudoir, where we passed some brilliant hours. The year begun thus cheerfully was closed in solitude, amongst the grand and lonely wilds of Tharand, exploring the treasures of the mines. I had passed the summer alternately in Dresden and in Tharand; and when I recall the scenes of that year I must regard it as the richest of my life; it was so both in enjoyment and in promise, for I had met with Reichardt's youngest daughter, who was to be afterwards my wife; she had come with her grandmother to visit Tieck's wife, her aunt, at Dresden; the grandmother was the daughter of Alberti, so well

known in Hamburg for his literary productions as well as for his preaching.

The reputation I had earned in Germany obtained for me the honour of an invitation to take part in a new college, which was intended to be established in Ireland, the chief object of which was to be the study of geognosy, for the benefit of the mining interests. Disciples of the Wernerian school were sought for, and Mohs, Herder and I were offered appointments. I was especially desired to undertake the literary department.

The prospect of a sufficient income and active employment, though in a country so remote from all my former ties, had many powerful inducements for me, and even the dim uncertainty of the whole future mode of life added an attractive charm: after many inward struggles, however, I felt unable to expatriate myself so utterly; my hopes still turned towards my Fatherland; my most eager desire was to impart the treasures in philosophy and science which I had so lately gathered to my own countrymen, and I still trusted that Count Schimmelmänn's partiality would procure me leave to lecture in Copenhagen and some honourable and useful means of support. I left Tharand with regret, and took leave with still deeper sorrow of Dresden, where, amongst many friends, I had become especially attached to Tieck and his kind family. I passed hastily through Leipzig, for it was at Giedichenstein that my fate was to be decided. Reichardt was absent; and though I was full of confidence that my suit would prosper, I had yet some anxious days to wait in Halle. He at length returned from Weimar, where he had been with Goethe. I had been talked of by them, and Goethe had thought highly of the Treatise which I had lately dedicated to him; Reichardt was therefore prepared to receive me favourably. I was invited to Giedichenstein, I was betrothed to my young bride, and I was to be allowed to return at the expiration of a year and take her as my wife to Copenhagen.

I returned in 1802 to Copenhagen, being then in my thirtieth year: no one had enjoyed a happier youth than I, except during those two sad years of trial; and even then the firm belief that I should rise and prosper never left me. I was full of hope when I again entered Denmark, but it was fitting that I should

share the common lot of mortal disappointment. The discouragements which afterwards determined me to quit my native land met me in threatening aspect on my first return. Count Schimmelmann received me with his former kindness; he was eager to be informed of all that I had learned in Germany, and listened with deep interest whilst I laid before him the new views which had enlightened both the poetic and scientific world. I found him scarcely prepared to enter fully into speculative philosophy; but he listened, and I won him to the cause of truth and free inquiry. I had already forwarded to him the proposal which I had received from Ireland, and he regarded it as a sufficient reason for bestowing a small but highly acceptable salary, leaving to me the arrangement of my plan of occupation. I drew up accordingly a scheme for establishing public lectures on philosophy and geognosy for the especial benefit of young men who, as clergymen or in other official situations, were intended for a secluded life among the mountain districts of Norway. I also proposed to make an annual excursion to those districts, to visit the students as they became established, and regulate their system of research and study. The Count approved; and had I depended upon him alone for the means of carrying out my scheme, I might have attained an enviable position.

The chief mover at that time in all subjects pertaining to national education was the Duke von Augustenburg, brother-in-law to the King. He partook very violently of the dislike which prevailed against German opinions, with the meaning of which he, like the public in general, was wholly unacquainted. I have to regret some injudicious expressions with which I met his prejudices when I was admitted to an audience; the interview convinced me that even if he did not oppose my lecturing, he would afford no assistance to my further plans.

My views were also discouraged by one of the ministers, Count Reventlaw, to whose practical wisdom Denmark owes much of her prosperity, but who was the declared enemy of all philosophic speculations. He held that men of science were unfit for any useful work; it was the people's happiness alone that should be cared for; religion had its uses, but should be left entirely to the clergy, and the simpler it was taught the better. When I applied to him to appoint the time and means for my tour in Norway, he

answered that he knew no use a philosopher could be of there, and took the opportunity of regretting the sinister influence which my teaching might have on the minds of the rising generation.

The difficulties which encompassed me took sometimes a ludicrous turn, and a little piece which I assisted some friends to get up at a private theatre bore no unapt allusion to my position. It was called 'Erasmus Montanus,' and the plot was as follows.—A student, the son of a countryman, lately returned from the university, had thrown the whole village into consternation by his logic, and pedantic assertion of truths as yet unheard-of by the poor people; the hero's bride was in despair, the parents angry, all despised him as a madman, when a recruiting officer appeared, who undertook to cure him. Erasmus had just proved by a syllogism that the sexton was a hen, and his father and mother some other sort of animals, when the officer offered to argue with him for a wager. Erasmus won, and received the shilling, when lo! it was listing-money. He was cured, but—he was a soldier; they had argued whether or not the world was round—what was to be done? leave father, mother, bride, everything? impossible! So he declared that the world was as flat as any pancake; peace and happiness were restored, and they all went off delighted to the wedding.

My kind and enlightened patron succeeded, notwithstanding, in obtaining me a most desirable occupation for the summer. I was commissioned to inspect the salt-mines of Oldesloe, as well as the selenite hills of Segeberg, and to report on the capability of working them to advantage. I visited my earlier friend Uncle Bang's step-son, since Bishop Münster, who was then living in his retired parsonage in Sweden, and enjoyed some days with him in recollections of former happiness; but that which I valued most in the excursion was the opportunity afforded me of making a *détour* to Halle, thence to fetch away my bride.

I returned through Holstein to Hamburg, and, accompanied by my wife's grandmother, proceeded to Giedichtenstein; it was in September, 1803, a few weeks after Hanover had been laid open to the French by Count Walmoden's capitulation on the Elbe, and the country occupied by the enemy was only separated from Hamburg by that river. Notwithstanding numerous reports of danger from the soldiery, we met with no obstruction

on the road. I remained a few days at Lüneburg, with a sister of my mother-in-law; the town was strongly garrisoned, and several French officers were quartered in the house where I was staying; their polished, smooth, artful manners displeased me much, and I then first felt the meaning of the misfortune which was to overshadow so many years of my life. Immediately after my marriage I returned with my young wife to Copenhagen.

I began my lectures in Copenhagen in October, 1803; my audience was large, and my success was great; not only students, but professors and men of learning and of rank and station, crowded to obtain a seat. My courage and my enthusiasm for my subject rose with my increasing popularity; but with that popularity rose also the opposition which ignorance, supported by high authority, was able to excite against me.

In the spring of 1804 I received an invitation to join the University of Halle, as professor of natural philosophy. Notwithstanding the success my lectures had obtained in Copenhagen, it was clear that they were not approved of by the government, and I felt convinced that sooner or later they would be suppressed. My desire to obtain a freer field for usefulness, joined to that of securing a sufficient and more certain means of support for my family, inclined me to accept the offered appointment. Many were the remonstrances which I was compelled to bear from friends in whose sight my departure to use my talents in a foreign land seemed a sort of treason to my own; I was urged to wait and see if brighter prospects might not tempt me to remain, but I resisted. "If," I said, "my work should prosper, the fruit will remain in my own expanded powers, and they shall be at the service of my country should happier auspices ever encourage my return."

CHAPTER V.

Departure from Denmark—Lüneburg—French Encampment—Berlin—General Confidence—Arrival at Halle—Difficulties on first taking Office in the University—Reil—Schleiermacher—Improving Prospects—Visit to Berlin—Public Excitement—Views on German Independence—Political Relations of Prussia—Prussian Military: their Privileges—Injustice and Presumption—General Anxiety in Halle—False Security—Duke of Wurtemberg's Reserve pass through Halle—Battle of Saalfeld—Death of Prince Louis Ferdinand—Advance of the Enemy—News of the Battle of Auerstadt—Sound of a distant Engagement—Battle of Jena—Public Excitement on the Appearance of a French Prisoner—The Reserve retreat towards Halle—General Mistake—Consternation—Flight to Schleiermacher's House—Plunder—Appearance of the City—Night of Terror.

1804—1806.

I FELT the pain of departing from my country and separating from friends and kindred most severely: it was long before I could withdraw my thoughts from broken ties of earlier years, so as to permit the light of my hopeful future in a foreign land to shine on me and cheer me. I thought with sorrow that I should hear the sweet tones of my native tongue no more, and as the fair green fields of Zealand faded from our sight, I felt as if I had abandoned myself a prey to a stranger spirit and a threatening destiny. The future, however, gradually rose again more hopefully; the German language sounded like a second mother tongue; a kind welcome awaited me from friends and relatives, and the sight of my wife's happiness aided me to master my depression.

In Lüneburg we found the hated French; the Hanoverians seemed to have submitted to the evil of their presence with a composure which incensed me to a degree that I can hardly call reasonable. We visited a French encampment near the town, and noticed the national disposition to make everything around them gay: the tents which they had seized from the Hanoverians were clean, and ornamented with flowers and

wreaths, and the arms, piled up, glittered in the sunshine, while they enjoyed themselves in groups, whistling and singing. The brilliant scene filled me with a feeling of despair. An angel with a flaming sword seemed, in my imagination, to stand prepared to drive me from the paradise which I had as yet scarcely entered, and I felt the more exasperated by observing the incomprehensible indifference of the people of the land.

At Berlin all was quiet, no thought of danger was apparent, and surrounded by kind friends and relatives, we forgot our dark forebodings, and indulged in happy anticipations. I was introduced to Herr von Beyme, who was then high in favour with the King : he invited me to Potsdam, and spoke with great interest of the University of Halle, declaring his determination to do all in his power to revive and strengthen it ; he hoped to see it rise to be the first seat of learning in Germany. All this from a man so high in power was most encouraging.

In September I had the happiness of seeing my wife once more restored to the society of her delighted parents, whose distress had been severe when I removed her to a distant country. Household arrangements and visits to the members of the university fully occupied my time at first, and while the requisite expenditure for beginning my establishment caused no little difficulty, I was perplexed to supply my immediate wants, and fearful that to do so I must impoverish my future means. My father-in-law had hired far too large and costly a house for me. I required a library, and though I was appointed professor of mineralogy I had no collection of specimens. These deficiencies were, after some unpleasant contention, supplied by the university, but very inadequately, and I had to meet a great annoyance in the failure of my means in regard to salary. I had been given to expect a larger income than I had received at Copenhagen, but I had unwisely followed the opinion sent to me by Beyme through my friend Reil. They had advised me to abstain from stipulating for a fixed amount as a condition of accepting the appointment ; the increase, as well as means to defray my incidental expenses, were refused me, and my financial prospects were but comfortless.

My position in regard to the university and my new colleagues was not more encouraging : one of the public prints announced

that I and my wife were Catholics ; another, at the same time, that we were atheists ; one hinted at licentious habits, another boldly affirmed that I was an opium-eater ; and when I began my lectures a young professor expressed his deep commiseration for my wife, because a rapid decay of mind and early death must be the inevitable consequence of my continual excesses. In fact among the professors a general discontent at my appointment was apparent. My difficulties as lecturer on philosophy threatened to be still more serious ; there were already five lecturers on the subject in the university, all of whom had obtained some degree of celebrity in authorship, and they were all united to oppose me.

By time and patience, however, more propitious signs became discernible ; I found the students more prepared to receive me than the professors. Philosophy had gained much ground during the two years of my residence in Denmark, and my prospects in the reviving university were also much improved by my connection with distinguished men in each of the learned faculties. Wolf, the philologist, was in his prime : his influence, derived from his profound learning, critical acumen, and keen wit, was great ; and as young minds when powerfully excited on one topic become expanded to take interest in all, so Wolf's best pupils were also my most diligent attendants. Reil was not less eminent in the faculty of medicine ; his attainments in general literature were very great ; he was the first medical authority of Halle and the neighbourhood, and had the largest practice as physician, in spite of an ungente manner, which was trying to the more timid patients ; I owed my appointment to his influence, and he continued my firm friend to the end of his life.

I also met for the first time a man with whose friendship a new era of my life began. Schleiermacher was made a supernumerary professor about the same time that I arrived in Halle ; we were soon united in most intimate confidence, and I never so fully understood, as in my intercourse with him, that in friendships the most unlimited deference to superior judgment rather assists than destroys independent feeling. In the same way as Goethe, Schelling, and Tieck had influenced me formerly, so now did Schleiermacher ; we shared our views, our thoughts, and even our likings ; he was in my father-in-law Reichardt's circle as often as myself ; we were companions in our walks and excursions.

sions, and the best students attended us equally, for his ethical and my philosophical teaching seemed closely connected. He was chaplain to the University.

Nearly two years passed in academic duties, and I was at length fully contented; the fairest prospects dawned upon me, and I was roused to energy by my widening field for useful labour. I was happy in my family, my friends, and my classes, and for the first time I was able to calculate on a sufficient provision for coming emergencies; but the ground out of which so many blessings sprang was hollow, though I knew it not.

In 1806 my daughter Clara was born, the only child whom God has preserved to me. In the spring of the same year I went to Berlin with Schleiermacher and his sister, who subsequently married Moritz Arndt. We found the city in a state of great excitement, political events had become more and more threatening, and the public mind was rousing to perceive the danger and the necessity for resistance. The hospitality of the Berliners is proverbial, and I met daily in society not only Fichte and Müller, but Bartholdy and Humboldt. Humboldt had returned a year before from America, and Bartholdy had just arrived from Greece. The season was delightful, and the city seemed at the culminating point of her prosperity before her great misfortune. It was a stirring time—the first dawn then appeared of a spirit which, though destined to be suppressed to all appearance by terrible events, was yet to rise again and free the people, and form a sure basis of regenerated prosperity.

The national enthusiasm was freely expressed in the circles where I visited: as a stranger I had been able to take a more general view of the relations between Germany and France, and though little accustomed to judge of diplomatic questions, I had understood enough to regard the state of things with increasing apprehension. As the danger therefore approached to Prussia I was far less hopeful than many of my friends, yet my fears then hardly assumed a distinct form. All that I valued most in Germany and on which the hopes rested which had tempted me to leave my native land, was despised by France and threatened with destruction. I abhorred the opinions she adopted,

and her attempts to hinder the development of German thought and to obliterate German nationality. This hatred I had sought in Halle neither to repress nor hide ; on the contrary I had striven even in my lectures to excite a spirit of opposition to the baneful influence of France. The spirit which I tried to rouse had little reference to political relations ; the resistance I then advocated was to be more inward than in act. Like German literature it was peculiar to no state ; it was German, and not merely Prussian.

All that we heard in Berlin strengthened and confirmed our views ; the spring weather was bright and mild ; the chief persons of the city met at noon Unter den Linden, where the trees were just beginning to unfold their tender green, and all conversed upon the one great point of interest. When any remarkable excitement prevails, intercourse expands and is no longer bounded by the friendly circle, and I was thus led to converse freely with many whom I had but casually met before.

Prussia stood on the very brink of danger, Hanover was occupied by a Prussian army, and the Hanoverians hated the Prussians even worse than they did the French. A declaration of war was expected from England—Russia threatened—Austria deserted by Prussia in her dangerous crisis was exasperated. The state seemed doomed to be a prey to France. All that was noble and highminded in Prussia appeared to be inseparably bound to England, and England was on the point of declaring war against her. Yet in that moment a spirit was engendered which was destined to resist and conquer.

The privileges of the military were at that period excessive. Several instances came under my own observation in Halle to prove the truth of this opinion. The son of a merchant died in Malaga or Cadiz of the yellow fever, and his effects were sent home. The police were informed, the goods, chiefly clothes, were condemned to be burnt, and the merchant's house was placed in quarantine. Reil was loud in reprehension of the arbitrary measure, but it was not relaxed except in favour of a young officer who was engaged to marry the merchant's daughter and lived in the house ; he was allowed free release from quarantine on account of the all-important parade.

Many examples also occurred of the overbearing pride of the military, and of their assumption that all honourable feeling was

confined to their own order. These were venial faults compared with one which did not receive the censure it deserved. In 1805 there was a scarcity in Halle; public clamour was excited against a corn-dealer; his house was attacked, and the mob began to plunder a large stock of grain. The troops were called out, General R. himself was present, and the object being to protect the property of a citizen, I fully expected that he would have strictly performed the duty. I was amazed therefore when the General addressed the rioters as follows:—"My friends, I shall not prevent your helping yourselves as you please to the corn—take nothing else."

I was myself at last brought into personal collision with the military. Part of a large building, once the Jesuits' college, was appropriated to the natural history museum and lecture-room; on proceeding once to lecture, a student met me in great distress to say that he had been refused entrance by a sentinel, for the quadrangle in which the lecture-hall stood had been taken by the soldiers for an exercising ground. I appealed to an officer and was refused admission, and only after a very urgent remonstrance with the authorities did I receive a promise that similar usurpations should not recur. It may be supposed that my opinion of the military was not improved by this incident.

The summer passed while great anxiety prevailed in Halle, and yet no one seemed to forebode that our own district would be the seat of war. We all thought that a Prussian force would take up a position on the Rhine as in the former war. Most people relied on the effective state of the army; and under the supposition that the contest might issue in a defeat, it was thought still, that however grievous the calamity might be, it would not disturb our social interests. The fate of Austria did not warn us of the danger, for the Prussians were accustomed to attribute far too great a superiority to their own troops above the Austrians. No one seemed to conceive the possibility that the University could be broken up; my classes had increased greatly in numbers, and for the first time I gave a course of philosophical experiments. Schleiermacher and my pupils encouraged me, and on the whole we were not much disturbed by approaching hostilities; on the contrary, our minds were rather inspirited by the expectation of a crisis.

There were some who were at length overtaken by apprehension, and adopted a most unworthy mode of feeling and expression. Theirs was not real courage, springing from strength of mind, but a blind presumptuous belief in the invincibility of the army, which had been nurtured in untried times of peace. Such a spirit as that which nerved the English on the field of Agincourt would not have mistaken the danger. No one in Halle seemed at all to comprehend the might of a victorious army, whose commander had changed the whole tactics of war, and which, flushed by such victories as were before unknown in modern history, was now sent forth by the enthusiasm of a nation, and swept forward to destroy. It was imagined that the spectre of the 'Thirty Years' War would scare the enemy with mysterious horror, or that they would fly at the first sight of a Prussian parade.

The troops which had collected near Halle moved rapidly forwards, and reports strengthened of the advance of the enemy, and of their having penetrated through Thuringia: at last the certainty that our neighbourhood would be the seat of war came to light. Many students had remained during the vacation, and many new ones had arrived, for the professors had not dared to quit the city. All remained for some days in anxious silence. Then the Duke of Wurtemberg entered Halle with his corps of reserve, and every inhabitant was seized with sudden dismay.

It is a strange, terrible idea to abandon oneself, helpless and unresisting, to a foreign power. As yet we believed ourselves protected by our army, but we were passive, and that firmness which springs from individual exertion failed us. I was passing through the streets with a Hanoverian attaché, who hated the French, when some troops of horse were moving on in proud array. "It is impossible," he said, "but that such troops as these must conquer; how truly grand is their appearance!" In fact, all minds were divided between an overweening confidence in the army and an irrepressible anxiety.

It became apparent, from the positions of the Prussian and French armies, that a great battle was to be expected. We listened breathlessly to rumours. At length the news reached us of the calamitous defeat at Saalfeld. It was whispered doubt-

fully at first, then more decidedly, and at last it was announced in the newspapers. Prince Louis had fallen. The daring with which the Prince had thrown himself on the enemy, and challenged an engagement, filled us with melancholy doubts and forebodings. Had he sought death in a desperate determination not to witness the subjugation of his country? Every new event feeds the imagination in portentous times; and the despair to which we attributed the destruction of Prince Louis and his host seized ourselves.

The disastrous 14th of October was near. The inhabitants wandered restlessly about the streets, for troops were posted in the immediate vicinity. Suddenly a rumour arose that a great battle had been fought on that very day, and that it was a complete overthrow. How the account could have reached us, considering the distance of the field of battle, seemed quite inexplicable, for that there had been fighting near Auerstädt was already known. This gloomy report was soon after contradicted by more hopeful news. It was said we had gained a signal victory; the populace exulted, and even my immediate friends partook of the common joy. I still mistrusted; and feeling anxious for more certain information, ran at utmost speed on the road towards Merseburg. About half-way the ground rises, and the Saltzstein Hill descends on one side precipitously towards the plain of Lauchstadt. I laid my ear to the ground, and heard plainly a distant cannonade. I distinguished that the sound retired in a north-western direction, and became fainter by degrees: guessing the position of the forces, this appeared to indicate that the Prussians were retiring. I scarcely dared impart my fears to my nearest friends; but I remained uncheered by all the reports of victory, which continued strong even through the following day. On that day a French prisoner was conducted through Halle; he was the first of the enemy that we had seen. How he came into this neighbourhood, whether as a straggler or captured in some skirmish, remained unknown; but his appearance caused a great ferment among the people. They surrounded him with screams and yells, and the soldiers who had charge of him had great trouble in protecting him against their violence. They seemed as if they thought in the person of this one prisoner to have won a great triumph over the enemy.

On the evening of the 15th of October I was told in confidence by the same Hanoverian attaché that a French division had fought its way towards Halle; and since I was fully convinced that the battle of Auerstädt had been completely lost, I now saw plainly that the reserve near Halle would be attacked.

My small dwelling into which I had removed from my first too spacious house was on the corner of the Parade, opposite the library. I looked from the windows over Moritzburg and Passendorf towards the hills which bound the horizon. In anticipation of a war I had often during the summer allowed my imagination to picture an army surmounting the distant hills, and stretching out far into the plain: they had been mere waking dreams, without any ground to justify the fancy.

Early on the 16th of October I thought I heard shots fired. I hastened to the window, and beyond the bridge which leads across the Saale to Passendorf I perceived in cloudy dimness a sort of movement which convinced me that a skirmish was taking place. The agitation, suspense, and dread of the last few days induced something like a tranquillized state of feeling at the moment when the danger assumed a more decided form. My wife had just weaned her infant; she was well and strong, and now that no doubt remained of the immediate presence of the enemy she seemed more curious than terrified. Schleiermacher came very early, with his sister and a friend named Gass, who was afterwards my colleague at the University of Breslau. He was chaplain to one division of the army, and waited for orders in Halle; they came to witness the military spectacle from our house. We soon perceived that we should obtain a much better view by moving to the other side of the Parade towards the Freemasons' Garden, and we stationed ourselves upon a wall which was built on a steep rock overhanging the Saale, whence we commanded a sight of the whole plain; when we reached it, many professors and officials were already assembled there; and a few parties of soldiers were moving over the long bridge. We witnessed attacks and interchange of firing, and saw dragoons unhorsed; but all seemed at first confused and undecided to our ignorant observation. So strangely were most of the beholders blinded by the reports of victory, so confident were they in the indomitable power of a Prussian army, that in all these attacks

from the French they were able to perceive nothing but evidence of our triumph. "Poor French!" said one; "I could almost pity them: it is clearly a body of stragglers, pursued and attacked in the rear by our victorious troops; if our bold reserve are upon them they will meet a dreadful fate." Alas! we were not left long in our mistake. The enemy came on in larger masses; our troops fell back; we saw Prussians flying in terror even along the banks of the river close by our wall; and then every one hastened in dismay towards his own dwelling; mine, in a remote, thinly inhabited quarter of the town, was considered both by myself and friends to be very much exposed; we hastily resolved to take refuge in Schleiermacher's, and hurried home to fetch our child. Gass led Schleiermacher's sister, Schleiermacher took my wife, and I followed with the nurse who carried the child. But we had lingered for too many precious moments at our home. We passed down the long Ulrich Street in greatest haste. Shots were fired in the town, but the streets through which we passed were still empty; every house was closed; in one place only I saw a workman tearing down hastily a tempting sign. The nurse was herself a mother; she trembled, and though she tried to get on, she could scarcely hold the child; I threw its cloak over my shoulder, seized it, and hurried forwards. When we arrived where the street widens into a small square which opens on the market-place, we saw at once the danger which we had to meet. The Prussian reserve were retreating through the town; the centre of the market-place was filled with the cannon and ammunition of the fugitives, which a crowd of soldiers were trying to get away. We heard firing in the streets which led from the Saale to the market-place; and I saw that we must cross the stream of the flying mass at right angles. How we got through unhurt I cannot tell. In such moments thought is changed into a sort of blind instinct, and every power is concentrated in the immediate struggle for self-preservation.

We had crossed the market-place and were near the Mecker-street, where Schleiermacher lived. That street leads from the market-place at a corner which is common both to it and to the Galg-street, now the Leipzig-street, in which the pursuit was hottest. Once within sight of my street of refuge, I turned round

to look for a moment ; I was amazed to see the market-place empty ; artillery and ammunition-waggon had vanished as by magic, but the enemy were still pouring in thick masses from the streets which led from the Saale ; a few Prussian soldiers were still flying hastily, and there was a general firing from the enemy in the direction of the retreat. The balls whistled by my ears ; I was but a few steps from the sheltering street, and yet for some moments I feared that I and the child should be cut off from it by the pursuing enemy. As we got under the protection of the houses we saw the little savage-looking men of Bernadotte's advanced guard (by-named the Brimstone Corps) rush close by us ; but they were intent only on the flying Prussians. We reached the house ; all was quiet in the street ; the closed door was hastily opened for us, and for once we were saved.

But our repose was short, for the street lay too near the course of the pursuit : detached soldiers, both infantry and cavalry, were plundering in the neighbouring streets. The event had come so suddenly upon us, brought up as we had been in times of peace, that we knew not how to meet it or what to do. The street was narrow ; some soldiers had penetrated into the opposite house and were taking all they could lay hands on, but they were plainly themselves in fear, for they made off when the people of the house called to us across the street. At last our door was knocked at : it was three or four horsemen who demanded entrance, but we took no notice. They called out that they would be satisfied with a few glasses of wine given through the window. We determined foolishly to let them have it, though no one was willing to be the person to hand it out. I offered to do it, and the window was opened, but what we might have expected happened. A dragoon held a pistol to my head and threatened to shoot me if we did not unbar the door. We were obliged to do it, and the robbers rushed in. My watch was their first booty ; I had no money in my pocket ; some money and linen were hastily collected by Schleiermacher. On the desk among some papers lay the travelling money of the chaplain, Gass. They tossed about the papers, but, strange to say, missed seeing the money : we were then left undisturbed, and had time to think of our position.

That the Prussian army was not only beaten but dispersed

appeared certain, and both town and university were for an indefinite time in the power of the enemy. All our prospects were suddenly changed; the immediate danger was, however, too great to permit us to think much about the future.

The pursuit through the town was over, a few persons reappeared in the streets, not one of the enemy was to be seen, and in the afternoon I ventured as far as my own house to see what had happened there. I passed through some of the streets which led from the river; a few persons glided anxiously by, but went only to their nearest neighbours, and here and there a small group stood trembling and whispering together. There were rumours of fearful outrages committed in the suburbs, and the bodies of Prussian soldiers lay in the streets in their full uniforms; I saw one with his musket lying still by him. I found that the enemy had not been in my house, and I was able to collect my money and conceal or give into my friendly host's care everything of value. We did not pass the night at Schleiermacher's; the bookseller, Schimmelpfennig, invited us all to his and we found many friends assembled there. Professor Hofbauer lived in the back part of the same house, and had heard nothing of what had taken place: we were obliged to call to him with loud voices that we were all in the enemy's power, and were witnesses of his horror. It is strange how a sudden, imminent danger changes the social relations of the inhabitants of a town. The subjugation of the country, the ruin of all that was sacred and dear to us, filled us with horrible imaginations; the intercourse of friendly families was suspended; we became familiar with whoever was nearest, for the next street, with the knowledge of its fate, was divided from us as if by an abyss.

Such of our party as had ventured beyond the house brought back fresh reports of outrages, so that the night was passed in dreadful apprehension—we expected burning, plunder, and violence every moment. We had assembled chiefly to protect the women, but our means of defence were small; we determined therefore to watch the night through; we knew that Hofbauer had a well-stocked cellar of Rhine wine, and we knew also that he was very chary of it, but by assuring him that what we did not use would fall to the share of the enemy, we persuaded him to produce a few bottles to support our spirits. We passed the

night in a sort of desperation, and towards morning we all disposed ourselves on chairs and slept.

The night passed, however, quietly, and we found in the morning how groundless our fears had been. The plundering advanced guard had been obliged to follow up the pursuit, and had disappeared from the neighbourhood. The main body of Bernadotte's troops took possession of the town, and I must do justice to the discipline which they displayed.

CHAPTER VI.

Bernadotte's Proclamation—Imprudent Spirit of the Students—Napoleon in Halle: his Political Schemes—Triumphal Display—Hopes of the Regeneration of Germany—Alarm among the Students—Napoleon's Anger against the University—Order to disperse the Students—Berthier communicates the Emperor's Displeasure and Orders to close the University—Cringing Conduct of the Professors—Personal Distress—Life of Retirement—Meetings in Adversity—French Balls to the Ladies—Invitation from the Prince Regent of Denmark to return—Hamburg—Enthusiastic Admiration of Blücher—Kiel—Unpleasant Audience with the Prince Regent—Restoration of the University of Halle—Return thither.

1806—1808.

BERNADOTTE published the following proclamation in order to tranquillize the inhabitants.

“**AVERTISSEMENT.**

“M. le Maréchal de Bernadotte, Prince de Ponte-Corvo, vient de faire connaître à l'Université de Halle, que le cours des études ne devait être nullement interrompu ; il a en même temps engagé tous les Professeurs à continuer comme par le passé l'instruction des étudiants, et il dispense les Professeurs de tout logement militaire, &c. Ainsi les étudiants qui se trouveraient maintenant en route pour se rendre à Halle peuvent sans crainte continuer leur route ; M. le Maréchal a déclaré qu'il était dans l'intention de son Souverain de protéger l'Université de Halle.

“Malgré qu'il y a eu un combat très-meurtrier dans la ville, tout est calme, et le moindre excès est réprimé.

“M. le Maréchal s'est rendu en personne sur la place, pour commander la plus sévère discipline, et a ordonné qu'on punit de mort le militaire qui ne respecterait pas la demeure des habitants.

“Les fonds de l'Université resteront intacts, et il est défendu d'y toucher.

“Halle, ce 19 Octobre, 1806.”

I hastened to post this proclamation on the door of my house. On the succeeding days the anxiety continued to increase, a

heavy cloud seemed to hang over the city ; troops kept passing through, and we heard that Napoleon was coming, with the Imperial Guard. There were reports that he was angry with the city, and still more so with the university ; in fact there was much to fear. Some of the students, in desperate excitement, had even thought of asserting their independence against the French officers, and the professors were quite unequal to keep them under safe restraint. I went with Schleiermacher to the Provost Maas to beg him to call a meeting of the council to devise necessary precautions ; to our surprise we were told that such measures would be construed into acts of defiance against the French. The provost, truly, was not very well calculated to bear an imposing front to the enemy ; he was a little, miserable figure, he kept no servants, and it was said that the soldiers who were quartered on him made him clean their boots. Very few of the professors ventured out, and then only snatched a few hasty moments for conversation, whilst the students paraded the streets boldly in large and noisy parties.

Napoleon arrived. He took possession of Professor Meckel's house, in the Berlin-square, one of the largest in the place. The Imperial Guard made an imposing impression. Napoleon came on parade, and, it was said, made an animated address to those, his favourite troops. We knew that he was incensed against the Prussians. Halle was the first Prussian town which he had taken, and he had determined to remain there some time, while his troops pursued the routed army. I and my family were still in Schleiermacher's house, and the Secretary of the War department was quartered in it, who of course occupied the best rooms, so that we were all miserably crowded. No one left the house at that time ; no one had a comfortable bed ; and we only snatched a little sleep when thoroughly worn out and exhausted. The Secretary who was quartered on us was polite, nay, even courteous. He often tried in a sinister way to engage us in conversation, and we therefore always expressed ourselves with great caution and reserve. One day he ventured to suggest to Schleiermacher that he should compose a letter which should attack the Prussian court and government, and speak of the hopes which the people of Halle cherished under the Emperor's protection. That such a man as Schleiermacher should have to

defend himself from so vile an imputation enraged me much, but the official remained civil as before. He once spoke without reserve of the Emperor's boundless ambition; he thought his views reached to the re-establishment of the Roman empire of the middle ages, whose beginning had been in France; that object once achieved, the Emperor, he thought, would grant a lasting peace, and foster the welfare of all his conquered subjects; the acknowledged civilization of the Great Nation would pervade all continental countries and help to cement their union, and no power would remain to oppose the conqueror or disturb the happy peace. Boundless exasperation, a hopeless sort of hatred, filled our minds whilst we listened to such detestable language, used by a German and in German words.

Napoleon remained three days in Halle: on the second he made a pompous procession through the streets, attended by his marshals and generals. He passed our house, and our official invited us to see the show. Schleiermacher and I refused, and after repeated requests would only throw a hasty glance or two towards the street, but it was not for long enough to distinguish the personages; I only saw Murat's rather fantastic costume; I never saw Napoleon. On the same day a student rushed into our room in boundless terror; I never saw hair really stand on end with fright before. Our minds were not in a state to admit of such a subduing passion—the more all outward help forsook us, the darker our fate impended, so much the firmer became our belief that the great and sacred principles which influenced Germany would survive to resist and to destroy our oppressors. In this conviction I ventured to assert the strong opinion which I then adopted and maintained so long as the French kept possession of the land: even in those hopeless times I saw that the battle of Jena was the first victory over Napoleon, for he then destroyed that weakness which was his best ally, and awoke in the bosom of every Prussian that spirit of resistance which was to fight and conquer.—The certainty that Napoleon would fall never left me.

The courage of the women in our fearful circumstances was remarkable, and though the excessive agitation of the young man led us to expect some astounding news, my wife checked the ebullition by exclaiming, "Fie! a strong-minded German youth should never look thus, least of all in such times as these!"

A deputation of the professors, headed by Niemeyer and Schmalz, had petitioned for and obtained an audience of the Emperor; they took Froriep with them, as best able to speak French. While the deputation was with the Emperor, a number of students had collected in the square. Schmalz, on their return, addressed the students, who, at the conclusion, gave some cheers, and it remained doubtful whether the acclamations were intended for applause or discontent. It had happened also that when Napoleon made his triumphal procession, some of the students had pressed carelessly towards him without bowing, and one whom he had spoken to had called him Monsieur.

Napoleon had, it was said, spoken severely against the inimical spirit of the university; such a temper, however strong it afterwards became, did not in fact then prevail. Napoleon might, perhaps, think that a large assembly of German youths of the best families might be, if not dangerous, at least inconvenient in the rear of his army. Unacquainted with the regulations of German universities, he fancied that the students lived in the several so-called colleges, and complained that they were not kept shut up in them. All this we knew before; and the terrified young student at length informed us that the university was closed by Napoleon's order, and the students were all to be sent to their homes: his great alarm was occasioned by an idea which prevailed, that when they left the city they would all be murdered on the road.

A great number of the enemy were quartered in the house where Schleiermacher lived. Towards morning we were awaked from our disturbed sleep by a great bustle in the house, continual running up and down stairs, loud-talking, and the sound of horses' feet; the next morning the town was clear, the troops were gone. In the course of the day the students were all sent away; we, the teachers, remained behind in the waste, desert city, our office gone, our duty taken from us, our future all uncertain; only a few of the elder students ventured to remain.

All was at length quiet in the town; the professors assembled, and it was found that the funds of the university had been seized. Berthier had issued a notice from Dessau, in which the university

was denounced as having deserved the Emperor's displeasure. Men of science, it stated, ought not to meddle with political affairs; their duties were solely to instruct; in Halle they had mistaken their position, and the Emperor had consequently determined to dissolve the university. Great as was our perplexity, I had believed that a body of German philosophers, though compelled by circumstances to submit, would have held a dignified line of conduct; but there were some who betrayed a cringing spirit—they proposed that we should disclaim all feeling of dislike to the Napoleon sway. Such an assertion from me would have been false. I contended that we were not answerable to the enemy for any sentiments we might have entertained towards him before his occupation of the city; since that event we had been in his power, and we had done all we could to preserve order in the university. A servile address was, notwithstanding, sent to Berthier: for me to have published a protest against it would have been foolish temerity; but I was the more mortified because I felt convinced that the most slavish submission would not change the Emperor's determination.

Schleiermacher's position and mine were most distressing; our salaries were due in November, those of the previous months were spent. I had received about 80 Louis d'ors for entrance to the lectures which had been about to commence; I was thankful when the students left that this sum remained untouched, and when they were all repaid I had only 10 rix dollars left. Schleiermacher had about as much; there was no hope of help from distant friends, as the enemy possessed the country east and north. We determined to unite our scanty means, and live together in my own small house. My wife and child and Schleiermacher's sister occupied a little room; my friend and I shared another; and we had a sitting-room in common, where we both pursued our studies; in one corner of it he composed his treatise on St. Paul's Epistle to Timothy. We lived on the poorest fare, seldom went out, and when our money failed I sold my plate. Yet, in the midst of all our privations, we did not lose our spirits; the firm belief that Germany would be redeemed through the unalterable spirit of the people supported us. Notwithstanding our poverty, we were able to collect the few students who had dared to remain, round our humble tea-table; it was fortunate that we

had laid in a large stock of tea and sugar just before our misfortunes; there we saw Harscher, Müller, Von Marwitz, Von Varnhagen, and Blanc, the chaplain to the French congregation in Halle, who was our firm friend, and sympathised in all our feelings; those evenings will never be forgotten.

For the first few weeks we were agitated by continual reports of terrible events, especially by the sudden and, to us, inconceivable fall of Magdeburg. A number of Prussian officers, released from prison, returned to their quarters at Halle. Parade had formerly been held on the open square before our house; and when the town again became quiet, they returned to relieve guard at the old-accustomed place and hour. They seemed like spirits of the dead hovering about the treasure they had parted from.

Every scheme was tried by the enemy to prove the dispositions of the people. After a very few days' stay the French officers became tired, and required amusement; balls were therefore given, and all the ladies were invited, though the mode of invite was more like a command. I heard that some complied, but when we received our invitation we answered simply that our ladies would not attend. Many stayed away, but devised various excuses. I cannot describe the bitterness of our feelings when we saw these notes from persons calling themselves Prussians, published in the newspapers.

Reil never failed to speak out daringly his honest sentiments; he often visited us, and came one day trembling with rage to tell us that the royal family had been attacked. I cannot say but that Napoleon's historical importance, at the time when he returned from Egypt, quelled the violence of the revolution, and restored order and prosperity to France, had excited a sort of admiration in me. I even looked with hope on the influence of his powerful genius over German development, but I despised him at last in the midst of his political grandeur. The greater his despotic power, the more sanguine did my hopes become; I believed firmly that I should live to see Napoleon's fall, and the country's liberation.

It must not be supposed that our scientific pursuits were abandoned. Our conversations all took a speculative turn; Blanc and Marwitz often took part in them, and there were evenings

when the country's misfortunes and our own necessities were scarcely thought of. How dear my connexion with Schleiermacher became at such a time may well be conceived. At last communication was opened between Berlin on one side, and Copenhagen on the other ; money was sent to us by distant friends, and our immediate distress was relieved. We had now to determine on our future steps ; we wanted means of support and employment. Schleiermacher, with much self-denial, determined to remain yet some time in Halle, where in seclusion he could complete with the least cost some publications he was engaged in. I had other plans. My younger brother was with the troops which the Prince Regent had collected in Kiel, meaning to maintain an armed neutrality. He had represented my position to the Regent, who answered in the following words :—" Let him come back ; he has a good head, and we can make him useful." I was greatly perplexed how to act : I was strongly attached to Prussia, I held an office from the government, and I did not acknowledge the power of the enemy to dissolve the university. Still my necessities forced on me the conviction that offers of employment in my native land ought not to be refused. I therefore wrote to the Minister von Massow, and stated that I still considered myself as professor in the university which had been destroyed by the enemy, but being without means of supporting my family any longer in Halle I craved permission to return to my native country. This was granted me, and towards Christmas I parted from Schleiermacher and quitted Halle. On our route we were treated as fugitives with the utmost kindness. We stayed some days at Hildesheim, with my brother-in-law, Steltzer, and arrived in Hamburg about the beginning of the new year. There I heard of Blücher's bold advance on Lübeck—my enthusiasm, like that of every Prussian, on the sound of that glorious name was intense ; it seemed a beacon of hope, and it was adored in Hamburg, where the greatest sympathy for Germany prevailed.

In March I left my family in Hamburg and went to Kiel. I found that the Holsteiners sympathized with Germany and could not endure the idea of the subjugation of Prussia, while the Danes, especially all about the coast, looked on with indifference.

I was presented to the Prince Regent ; he received me gra-

ciously at first, but gave me to understand that I must not lecture. I ventured foolishly to remonstrate; he was displeased, and told me that I was bound to remain in Denmark and submit to Danish regulations. I replied that I then held an office under the Prussian government, and was only absent upon leave. His Royal Highness then spoke contemptuously of the Prussian army, and asked whether I meant to redeem the land by becoming a Prussian soldier. He was very angry when I left him, and as I passed through the ante-room I noticed that the attendants, who had plainly heard his loud angry voice, refrained from holding any communication with me.

I spent some anxious, useless months in Hamburg, and at the close of the year I was informed that the University of Halle would be re-opened. Niemeyer had been taken as hostage to France, and, having been set at liberty, had visited Paris before his return; he had made some influential acquaintances there, and to them and his exertions the restoration of the university was owing. Napoleon's displeasure, and the strong temptation to the new King of Westphalia to advocate the final suppression, in order that he might seize the endowments for other purposes, made this act of grace difficult to obtain, so that great merit is due to Niemeyer's exertions in this cause. As formal notice was sent me of the re-establishment of the university, with an order to return to my post, I determined to avail myself of the only apparent chance of providing for my family. My children's health not permitting a winter journey, I postponed my return till the spring lectures would re-commence, and in the mean time followed my friend Rumohr to Lübeck.

CHAPTER VII.

Return to Halle—Desolation—Re-opening of the University—Celebration of the Event—Death of the Queen—King Jerome's Visit to Halle—Waited on by the Professors—Witticism—Darkening Prospects—Napoleon's Mistake of German Character—Napoleon at Erfurt—Secret Confederation: their Meeting at Dessau—Project to murder Napoleon—Schill's Insurrection—Eckmühl—Aspern—Napoleon's Treatment of the German Princes—Talleyrand—Despair in Halle—Invitation to Breslau.

1808—1811.

THE excitement which I always experience on revisiting old familiar scenes after long absence was never so great as on my return to Halle. Though our journey was favoured by the most lovely spring weather, my wife and I became more and more serious and anxious as we approached nearer to the city. As the masses of buildings stood out more clearly to our view, a deeper gloom seemed to overshadow the place, and a portentous stillness reigned in it. The first few days increased our comfortless impressions; we were like people who had lost their all by fire, and who were come to seek for relics among the ashes of their once luxurious home, but of ours scarcely a firebrand remained; the place where our house still stood was scarcely to be recognised; the power of a destructive enemy had changed the outward semblance and poisoned the inward springs of life. Reichardt had fled from Halle with his family before the arrival of the French, not having dared to await the vengeance of the Emperor, who had been incensed by a pamphlet written to undermine his government. Reichardt was generally supposed to be the author, and though it was never really known, it is probable that he at least assisted in the publication. We found his house at Giedichtenstein in ruinous desolation; Napoleon's persecution had ceased, and he was living at Cassel as director of the opera, appointed by the Westphalian government.

Schleiermacher had remained some time in our house and then

removed to Berlin : we found it just as he and his sister had left it, and traces of his recent presence brought regret for his loss still closer home to us. The remaining professors were almost strangers to me ; Reil, however, was still there, and Blanc : they were, in fact, the only friends of former times remaining to us.

No session in any university ever opened so miserably ; only three hundred students came up, not a fourth part of the former number. The lectures recommenced, and all went on formally as before ; but the spirit, the intellectual aspirations which had before animated my labours, had faded under the oppressive influence of the times.

About the beginning of the second term it was determined to celebrate the revival of the university in ceremonious form. There had never been any edifice properly belonging to the institution, but an ancient house, containing some large, dismal-looking rooms connected by long dark passages, had been hired from the city authorities. The ceremony took place there, and differed so little from all academic solemnities, with their long, tedious Latin orations, that I should hardly have recorded it but for a whim of the then rector, Niemeyer, to invest the whole proceeding with an air of antiquity. Each faculty had to appear in the different robes and caps of the earlier period of the university. We looked like the spirits of our former selves—it was indeed a funeral pomp in its extremest sense, at which none but lifeless bodies assisted. The impression it made on me was revolting—I imagined myself surrounded by the infected atmosphere of a charnel house. It is not, however, to be inferred that among the professors all patriotic feeling was extinguished. The ceremony was very unwillingly attended, and perhaps no city in Westphalia contained truer adherents to the King in his adversity than Halle.

There were many ultra-Prussian patriots who accused Niemeyer of leaning too much towards the French interest, but he redeemed himself on many occasions from this suspicion, and when the news reached us of the death of our beloved Queen, his grief was excessive and most openly expressed. The despair which was felt by all in Halle at this event resembled that which followed the first subjugation of the city by the enemy—all mourned the loss with a feeling that the last weak hope had sunk with

their beloved princess. Even the enemy seemed to respect this universal sorrow; but they little guessed the mighty will to resist and revenge which succeeded those tender regrets. The Queen's death was attributed to the unhappy position of the land. "The enemy has destroyed the protectress of the people" was the cry. She remained in death, as in life, the heroine of a struggle, the power to support which was strengthening by every succeeding event.

The new king, Jerome, honoured the University of Halle with a visit: he was attended by many generals and officials and by his counsellor of state, J. von Müller. I at first determined not to join the professors to wait upon him, but I was influenced to do so by a desire to see a man who had been raised from mediocrity, and after divorcing his wife in order to marry a German princess, had been placed by the despotic act of his brother upon a German throne. The whole body of professors and authorities of the city were assembled under Niemeyer at the entrance by which the King was to pass to his apartments. It was strewn with flowers, and young girls were stationed to receive him with complimentary verses. I felt as if this was a desecration of their innocence, and as if such honours ought never again to be paid to a lawful sovereign, for they had lost their value. Whilst we were crowded together waiting for Jerome many of the professors spoke out boldly against him. I was silent and overcome with shame at finding myself so placed, but my bitter disgust at the scene and at myself was not to be concealed.

There was a man named Rudiger amongst us, a professor of political economy; he was gigantic in height, and used to make himself conspicuous by many eccentricities. On this occasion he lifted his huge head and shoulders above the rest, and in his peculiar rough manner cried out, "Here we see the emblem of the city of Halle verified indeed." I asked what emblem he meant. "It is," said he, "an ass walking upon roses." This witticism was afterwards a subject of misunderstanding between Rudiger and me. Dangerous as such a remark was when uttered, the repetition of it afterwards found much favour in the victorious times of Prussian independence. He had, however, by that time forgotten having been the author of the sally, and

was displeased that it was stated that he used it as referring to the arms of the city of Halle, whereas the ass on roses was only an emblem in use amongst the artisans: he considered such an inaccuracy, if attributed to him, a grievous slur on his reputation as professor of political economy.

The King arrived, but some time still elapsed before we were admitted. We kept modestly in the background while the under-prefect, followed by the clergy, stood close to the door ready to claim precedence. The doors at last were unclosed, and the prefect was ushered into the presence by an officer of state. Scarcely, however, had he advanced one step to begin his address when he was informed that it was the King's pleasure to receive the professors of science before the spiritual authorities, the precedence which had formerly been given to the clergy having been denied since the revolution. We were therefore introduced first. The King stood in the centre of the circle; his personal appearance was mean; there was nothing manly in his features, which were disfigured by excesses; a stupid, hesitating manner betrayed the man, who had no innate power to distinguish him from the crowd. He made a short speech, assuring us of his attachment to science and his intention to uphold the university.

My days were passed in heavy, dull anxiety; there was but little emulation among the students, whose diminished numbers told fearfully on my contracted income. Even the few who remained belonged to so poor a class that few lecture fees could be expected. The Westphalian government also found pretexts to withhold a portion of our salaries, and by forced loans we were obliged to receive our payment in paper, which was not always negotiable. My studies, and a certain degree of danger which I knew to be the consequence of my avowed attachment to the legitimate government, were the only exciting causes to keep me from helpless inanition.

I assisted in framing a proposal for a mining institution in Halle. The government at length partially adopted it, and named me as one of the directors, it being their policy to conciliate by such means those who were opposed to them; but I

determined to receive no income from them which I could not claim under my Prussian appointment—my only advantage derived from the institution was the means of extending the collection of mineralogy belonging to the university.

Halle, once the scene of brightest hopes, was changed into a school of heavy trial. I had lost my first child shortly after its birth in Copenhagen ; the second, Anna, was born at Hamburg. She was a lovely child. My wife had lately given birth to a son. I was invited by my friends Blanc and Harthausen to join them in a geological excursion in the neighbourhood. Enchanting scenery, lovely weather, and friendly intercourse had revived our drooping spirits, but I felt an ominous depression when we approached the less cheerful district on our return to Halle. We were not far from it when I saw a carriage coming towards us rapidly. I recognized a servant of our house ; my heart sank within me. I seized the note he brought—my wife wrote in words barely legible—"Hasten home if you would see Anna alive." I reached my house only in time to see my dead child. The sorrowing mother nursed her infant—it died three months after.

The death of my two children, the unceasing difficulty in supporting my wife and my remaining child, the restriction which cramped my usefulness in the university,—all pressed more heavily on me as the hope grew fainter of any change to mend our prospects.

Apprehension for my personal safety was at length added to the discomforts of a life of dejected inactivity. Professor Steinberg was shot in Marburg, so that I could not but perceive the possibility that a violent death might also be my fate : just at the same time Reil gave up all in Halle, and went to Berlin, so that my last supporter in the university abandoned me.

Napoleon mistook greatly the character of the German people. He had no conception of their attachment to their social condition under their own government ; and while he calculated upon Prussian submission, he was ignorant of the indignation which was brooding over their violated treasures of hearth and altar, and of the strength which was growing up in secret for a

final struggle. A venal press was at his service, but it hid the truth more from himself than others; and when that truth was spoken by a daring few, he wilfully misunderstood it. Napoleon hated men of science—"German philosophers," he said, "mix up politics even with their grammar and mathematics;" but his act of tyranny in causing the bookseller Palen to be shot was a grievous error. He thought through terror to silence the reason of the country and subdue its spirit, and he raised against himself the fierce power of universal hate.

Had Napoleon pursued his advantage immediately after the invasion, there is no doubt that he might have annihilated Prussian independence altogether. The help of Austria and Russia, even if the former had forgiven the part taken by Prussia in 1805, would have arrived too late; but he spared because he little knew the power which was to spring up in the secret minds of the people. When it at length found a voice, he did not understand it. My pamphlet upon the universities was plainly understood by every German. Villars wrote to me upon it—"You would have been lost if you had not written in a language which is as unintelligible as Sanscrit to the Frenchman." A Frenchman would in fact have no idea that such effusions could have any political influence; yet I may venture to assert that it became the handbook to guide and rouse many of the German youth. This ignorance on the part of Napoleon and the French saved Prussia, and through Prussia, Germany.

A whole summer passed and no ray of hope appeared to cheer our darkness. The brave Spaniards fighting for existence were our only encouragement. Our own subjection seemed complete: Halle was the high road for the army, and every house was overrun by soldiers; Berthier, whose title of Duke of Neufchâtel brought painful associations, was in possession of the domain of Giedichtenstein, one of the most important in the kingdom. The King of Prussia was living in close retirement, first at Memel and then in Königsberg.

My first admission into the secret confederacy then forming in Germany was at a critical time, and it took place in a remarkable way. I received a request together with my friend Blanc to go to Dessau, and there at an inn I met many friends from Berlin—Schleiermacher, Reimer, Von Lützow, and others. Napoleon was

then at Erfurt, surrounded by a circle consisting of the Emperor of Russia, the Kings of Bavaria, Saxony, Westphalia, and Würtemberg, the Grand Dukes of Baden and Würzburg, forty-two princes, twenty-six ministers of state, half a hundred generals, and—the actor Talma. The meeting, which was to conclude on the 14th of October, 1808, the second anniversary of the battle of Auerstädt, was devised, with the secret intention of promoting a project which was afterwards to change the political relations of all Europe, and Napoleon hoped to dazzle Russia by this ostentatious display of dependent sovereigns.

The object of our meeting at Dessau was not fully explained, but I learned that a number of confederates were distributed about the country to watch every movement of the French, and we were invited to co-operate and to choose discreet and faithful emissaries to assist us. I perceived at once that my friends were in possession of some unpleasant secret, and they afterwards confided to me that two persons had formed a plan to murder Napoleon at Erfurt. I need not add that the idea filled us all with grief and terror. That we should be freed from our tyrant by a crime, seemed to me the most dreadful of events. I looked upon the mighty conqueror as a healing scourge sent by the Almighty in mercy; he was commissioned to strengthen the failing powers; to dispel the sickly apathy; to invigorate the loyalty, to warm the love of country; to give life and freedom to every dear and holy impulse; and if he were to fall by an act of cowardice and murder, all my brightest hopes would fall with him; even on the unlikely supposition that outward prosperity should follow, I should have lost the strong foundation on which I built my hopes of Germany's regeneration.

I waited in full confidence that the attempt would fail, and we soon found that I had not hoped in vain. Two men joined us in haste; their disguise was so overdone that I thought they could not have taken a more sure mode of making themselves objects of suspicion, and I was amazed that they had escaped the notice of the police. They told us that they had remained to the last at Erfurt, and had concealed themselves among the bushes when the review of the field of Auerstädt took place. Napoleon had actually come within pistol shot, but the Emperor Alexander had ridden by his side and sheltered him. The two conspirators soon

left us, and I breathed more freely when they were fairly gone ; we then separated, and each returned home.

Through Schleiermacher I heard of the state of feeling in Berlin, and of the good service to the cause which he and Fichte were doing there. The secret committee was to watch every movement in the French army, and obtain information of the feeling which prevailed in the provinces. They were to take advantage of circumstances as they might arise ; and when Austria prepared for war, their time for activity began. Count Chasot was the president of the committee, and I received a letter from him, requesting me to assist him with advice and intelligence. Our difficulties were great, both to judge of whom among the lower classes we might confide in, and to find out how to keep up a safe communication with each other.

News reached me in 1809 of the intended Dornberg insurrection, and of Schill's appearance on the Elbe. Many sober-minded persons were induced to believe that Prussia would be incited to take part in any bold effort. Scharnhorst and Gneisenau, though in the background, instigated the whole, and tried to influence the circle about the King, and even the King himself, to take a part ; nothing, however, could be undertaken effectually without a general movement in the provinces.

These hopes of speedy liberation were blasted almost as rapidly as they had arisen. When the account of Schill's arrival on the Elbe was received at Halle the whole place was in great excitement. Many believed that the King, who still reigned in his people's hearts, would join with the Emperor of Austria, and that war would be declared. I was sustained by no such hope, though I believe that, had Prussia risen at that moment, a general confederation of the continental nations would have followed to support her. A few days after I learnt how Dornberg's effort had been crushed in the commencement ; his secret had been betrayed, and he had nearly fallen into the hands of the enemy ; this dispiriting news had already reached me when Schill's approach was announced. Proclamations were distributed, calling on the youth to join him. " You will," they said, " obtain no pay, but you will be honourably treated ; all corporal punish-

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ment is abolished amongst us ; we depend wholly on the noble spirit of the Germans." When my young sister-in-law saw the paper she exclaimed, " Pay and discipline are not promised, but the people want and must have both." To my grief I am obliged to acknowledge that her keen remark was to some extent too true. When masses are excited to great movements, too much of the mean and pitiful in motive must always stand beside the high and great ; other reasons, however, interfered to keep the people back. It was sad to see Schill's bold troop pass through the land, and not a man stand forth to join him.

An idea sometimes passed through my mind of the possibility of calling on the Halle students to rise with me and join Schill, and many of our secret confederacy hesitated with me. We all saw that from Prussia the new birth of Germany was first to spring ; but Napoleon's success at Eckmühl, and his advance towards Vienna, extinguished all our rising hopes. The Westphalian government posted their boasting news at every corner of the streets, and the time for any hopeful movement had gone by. A second favourable moment seemed to offer shortly after, on the occasion of Napoleon's reverse at Aspern ; and, if both king and people had seized the instant for a general effort, who can say what success might have followed ? But I have since reflected that, after all, it was a subject for rejoicing that the tempting opportunity was not improved. The vague elements of national independence were still too rude to be let loose, and a more fearful revolution might have followed and distracted Germany.

There were many painful stories current of the humiliating demeanour which Napoleon assumed towards the princes who had allied themselves with him. When I was in Hamburg I heard from Von Hammerstein, minister of the Duke of Oldenburg, an account of his waiting on Talleyrand at Warschau. He was sent to be the bearer of the Duke's resolve not to leave his own land and subjects. Talleyrand held soirées, at which he received the German princes, or their ministers in their absence. With his revolting, cold self-possession he used to take a prince or an ambassador by the hand, lead him into a window recess, grant him a quarter of an hour's audience, and then dismiss him and fetch another ; in such an easy fashion was the fate of the small German states settled.

It was said that Napoleon was at the theatre at Carlsruhe when the old honoured sovereign of the state, the elder of the German princes, was in the opposite box ; he had a habit of placing his hand in the breast of his coat. An adjutant was sent over to intimate that such an attitude was not to be permitted in the presence of the Emperor ; the offending hand was slowly withdrawn. I shed tears of indignation when I heard of it.

Poverty began to prevail most fearfully in Halle ; even the funds of the charitable institutions were exhausted ; the salt-works—a great source of revenue—brought nothing in ; and the inhabitants were plundered continually by the passage of the troops through the city. The University sank still lower, and the students still decreased in numbers. Vagabonds of all sorts passed in and filled the streets, and it was impossible to relieve the general distress ; when it was tried to distinguish the number of paupers, and of those able to give relief, it was found that nearly the whole population were in a state of destitution. When this was ascertained, paralysing despair seized upon all ; but it was with a suppressed rage that we perceived Napoleon waxing in his power, and heard of his Austrian marriage, and his extension of the French territory in Westphalia and Hamburg.

The University at Frankfort on the Oder had sunk almost to nothing, and in its place a new one was established in 1811 at Breslau, and I received with joy the offer of an appointment in it, with promise of an income sufficient to relieve me from all prudential hesitation. I accepted it at once.

CHAPTER VIII.

Darkening Political Prospects—French Influence—Secret Confederacy—Arrival of the Confederates in Breslau: their Meetings—Gneisenau—Manners of the Prussian Officers—J. Grüner—Chasot—M. Arndt—News of the French Disasters in Russia and of Napoleon's Flight—Public Enthusiasm—Anxiety for the Safety of the King: his Arrival in Breslau—Bolkenstern—Order from the King for a General Arming—Object undeclared—Personal Resolve—Address to the Students—Visit from the Rector—The French Ambassador's Remonstrance—Scharnhorst: his Character; his Advice—Petition to the King: the gracious Answer—Drilling—Unpleasant Discipline—Claims of the Volunteers—Equipment—Presented to the King—War declared—Emperor Alexander in Breslau—Discouragement of the Volunteers—Advance to Lissa—Disasters on Parade—State of Germany—Napoleon's Policy—Stein: his Character and Views of German Philosophy—Jealousy against the Volunteers—Removal to Head-quarters—Altenburg—The Ex-King of Sweden: his painful Position—Blücher—The French Army: its Position and still undaunted Spirit—State of the belligerent Powers—Appointed on the Staff.

1811—1813.

WHILST the university at Breslau was being formed, and while I continued to try to nurture to the best of my power those seeds of national independence which continued, in a cutting atmosphere, gradually, though by slow degrees, to fructify, the outward circumstances of the people grew darker and darker. Hard as was the outward tyranny of the invaders, their indirect influence was still more fearful and destructive. Nothing good could flourish under such a sway. In Breslau we heard much of the excesses during the war, and there were terrible recollections of outrages which had been committed by those troops of Southern Germany which had joined the French army. Thus had German feelings under French influence been turned against their own country, and the fearful time seemed now approaching when a Prussian army might combine with the French for the final subjugation of the land. The heaviest oppression which I had witnessed in Halle seemed a light misfortune when compared to this.

I foresaw that if the Prussians should learn to consider themselves as a part of the French army, and think it an honour to join them in the exultation of victory, the poison would be extended to the whole nation, and patriotism disappear wholly from the land.

I became acquainted with General von Grawert, then at Breslau, engaged in the topographical survey of Prussia, which was an important aid to my means of learning the form as well as structure of the Silesian mountains. His Adjutant-Major von Hiller, also became my friend. This truly patriotic-minded officer was painfully alive to his unhappy position, and his grief was extreme to find himself compelled to act against his country's interests. My conversations with him increased my own fears. It was clear that Austria must arm for Napoleon, now that he was son-in-law to the Austrian emperor; hence every hope was almost extinguished of resisting the subjugation of the whole of Germany. Yet I could not quite abandon hope; and our news from Russia of the determination after a lost battle to retire and lay the country waste revived it in the shape that the insanity of boundless ambition might there receive a check.

If the then state of Prussia was so overwhelming to me in my retired existence, how must those have felt who to the last had cherished a belief in the possibility of a general resistance! When the gloomy night of German despair was at the darkest, the secret league was still kept up, consisting of the noblest spirits both in Austria and Prussia, and they were connected by a secret confederacy with many among the German-minded English. Let the rulers who now sway the destinies of those three countries ever bear that league in mind, so powerless to all appearance then, and yet so mighty but a few years later: they will perceive in that time of cruellest oppression, that moment of impending destruction, and that rapidly succeeding liberation, a prophetic meaning for the guidance of future centuries.

Though occupied with the absorbing duties and interests of an infant institution, I continued to watch the political state of Prussia with passionate devotion. As the reports strengthened that Prussia, Austria, and other German states were likely to combine with France in hostilities against Russia, I longed to know whether such men as Gneisenau, Chasot, Eichhorn, and Schleiermacher had yet abandoned their last hope of freedom.

Those few might yet withstand the withering influence which paralysed so many once undaunted patriots, an influence under which hope drooped and mutual confidence was changed into mistrust. Too many of the confederates, once secretly sworn to defend their country, strove amongst themselves, and a subdued people were armed to fight for the tyrant who oppressed them. But I felt that I had yet work to do. I could try to influence the minds of men and invigorate their failing spirits; and in the religious belief in a future but most certain triumph, I pursued the struggle, though unaided by the friends of more propitious times. At last I felt myself alone in the contest; I felt the pressing evils which bore down the boldest hearts as much as they did; but those very evils left no time for those around me to understand and value the great principles for which I strove. The sun of life seemed to have set, and midnight darkness threatened to overwhelm me.

In my deepest need I was suddenly supported in a most unlooked-for manner. In the last days of 1812 Gneisenau, Chasot, Justus Grüner, Moritz Arndt, and afterwards Blücher, appeared in Breslau. In the agitated state of the people these arrivals occasioned great astonishment. The police watched their motions, suspiciously, though without interference. I was brought into immediate connection for the first time with those men whose position and principles marked them as the hope of Germany. They passed much time in my house, when I took every precaution to exclude all other visitors. Sometimes we met at a tavern, and remained in close conference till midnight; a small room behind the public saloon was reserved for us. It is easy to suppose that these arrivals in Breslau were the subject of intense interest, and that I appeared in a new character by my connection with them. The president of police said to me once that he knew that I had collected a little Coblentz, referring to the noble refugees who had made themselves extravagantly conspicuous in that place in the beginning of the revolution. I felt the remark to be a warning, but did not acknowledge the comparison.

This was my first personal acquaintance with Gneisenau. His features were handsome, and his tranquil but firm demeanour bespoke the gentleman and the hero; his look was clear and open, and I never saw so happy a combination of self-respect and

humility, of confidence and modesty. Like other distinguished German heroes, his views were formed more from observation than from books; but his regard for literary attainments in others was consequently still more to be admired. He never appeared to greater advantage than when he appealed for information on points where he was at fault, or frankly confessed any deficiency in knowledge. He had not the rapid apprehension, the sparkling wit, or the sarcastic vein which belonged to many commanders of the time, and which made them unpopular in society.

It seemed in the Prussian army as if the boldness which was ranked by military men as the highest of virtues was equally a merit in matters of the understanding, and the word of command was held as irresistible in controversy as at the head of a regiment. Many in maturer life had sought by force of natural acuteness to repair the deficiencies of early systematic culture. Others had attended the universities, but had suffered the military ardour of the period to break off their half-completed studies; an imperious tone on subjects which ought to be discussed with inquiring reserve prevailed especially in the unhappy year 1806. Those times had thrown back every strong mind upon its own resources. Never had men been called on to draw on their own powers to meet the exigencies of the time so as the Prussian officers were then. The effort led them on to victory, though it taught them overbearing manners.

I have had the happy lot to be in the society of many remarkable men, but I never regretted having a conversation interrupted as I have done when with Gneisenau; I never heard an unmeaning word from his lips; even on intellectual subjects there was, in his modestly expressed opinions, an irresistible weight; every one felt the depth of his reflecting powers, and perceived that when he spoke, he thought more of that wherein he believed himself to fail than of the treasures of experience which he had gathered while assisting the greatest minds of the age to mature sound principles whereby to influence the fate of Europe. There was something princely in his look and mode of expression; when his manner was most humble he seemed to bow with conscious self-possession; he was the most chivalrous, the most liberal hero, that I ever saw: whoever had the happy fortune to

excite his interest might firmly depend on his effectual support under every circumstance. I think with gratitude of his benevolent goodness to me from the time that he first entered my dwelling; every remembrance of him is most mournful, but most dear. He came to me a few days before his sudden and deeply lamented death, with the dignified, firm carriage which he preserved even to old age. Never did the cholera seem to me such a cruel scourge as when it seized him for a victim.

Very different was Justus Grüner—a man who played an important part, but whose memory has been less recorded than that of military heroes: he was thin, and his fiery eye and pale cheek betrayed the struggle against passions in which he was not always victor. He had an immense quantity of hair, which was a fiery red, and he spoke with great ease and force: when he seemed most absorbed in conversation, he still observed most keenly, and he would fix his eye on some one and fathom rapidly how and when he might make him useful. As president of police in Berlin, he was able to do the cause good service.

Chasot was completely the officer: he had a robust frame and a superior mind; he had shot a French officer in a duel for having spoken with contempt of the Prussians. He lived to see no more than the dawn of recovered freedom, as he died while conducting the German legion on their return from Russia.

The powerful influence of Arndt's writings in Germany, in 1805 and 1806, is well known. Whilst other authors were awed to silence, he alone avowed his principles with intrepidity. His loud trumpet of war, which sounded its mighty alarm through the press, was not silenced through those unhappy years of tyranny. Calling for aid, it sounded on when hardly one sign of hopeful effort was apparent: he was destined to awake the sleepers—to arm the nation to resistance by words of strength and virtue. From the time we met he was my true friend.

That the state and prospects of Germany were the subjects of our continual discussions may easily be guessed; I then learnt that the secret league still existed in full force. We believed that we could trust England, though I must confess that neither the people nor their parliament seemed to afford that energetic sympathy with the oppressed continental powers which their position seemed to claim.

Austria seemed outwardly bound to France, but that this alliance would ultimately be more dangerous to her than the most unequal warfare, was as clearly understood in Vienna as in Berlin. The true-minded but timid Austrians, who feared a total overthrow in a contest with France, could not conceal from themselves that the treaty with her was a voluntary surrender of their liberties, while they could but seek an honourable fall by their resistance. Who has not learned from history that nations who have nerved themselves to the uttermost point of resistance, have found the germ of revived independence at the very time when its extinction seemed inevitable? while a yielding, timid people, like a hectic patient, fancies itself most secure when death is nearest, and, constantly deluded, resigns the last sickly hope only with the dying breath.

Everybody lived at that time in the intense excitement which prevails when a promise of being rescued from a wretched position has been observed, and the moment has not yet arrived for active exertion. The twenty-ninth bulletin had appeared: every artful expression in it seemed to endeavour vainly to conceal the news of a total defeat. The vision of a wonderful agitated future rose in every mind with all its hopes and terrors: it was breathed out at first in tones scarcely audible; even those who had believed that unbridled ambition would find its check in the land which it had desolated, could not realize the horrible destruction of a victorious army—an army which had for fifteen years, with growing might, excited first the admiration, then the terror, and lastly the paralysed dismay of all the continental nations, and which had at length been overtaken by a fearful judgment, more wonderful than its conquests. But the strange event was there; reports no longer to be doubted crowded in upon us—the distant voice approached—the portentous word sounded clearer and clearer, and at last the loud call to rise was shouted through the land. Then did the flood of feeling burst from hearts where it had been long pent up—fuller and freer did it flow; then the long-hidden love to king and country flamed brightly out, and the dullest minds were animated by the wild enthusiasm. Every one looked for a tremendous crisis, but the moment was not yet

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come for action, and while resting in breathless expectation, thousands and thousands became every hour stronger still to meet it.

It was said that Napoleon, accompanied only by one of his generals, had fled in a sledge through Silesia, travelling day and night. A postmaster had recognized him in Hainau. In Breslau all was excitement, all household duties and affairs were forgotten, everybody was collected in the streets, and all looked for the leader who was to order them to arm.

The first thought was for the safety of the King: it was feared that the remains of the French army might insure their safe retreat from Berlin by seizing his sacred person. Herr B. von L——, urged by this apprehension, addressed himself immediately to the King and entreated him to leave Berlin and repair to Breslau, where, on ground not invested by the enemy, surrounded by faithful subjects, he might be safer than in a city actually in possession of the French. Those who surrounded the King, however, feared his taking so dangerous a step. A few days after this Herr von L—— was seized in the night by gendarmes, carried off to Berlin and there imprisoned, though he was shortly afterwards liberated.

Though now at the very dawn of the long hoped for day, I felt myself strangely depressed. Six years, I said to myself, have I been looking for this moment as the most blessed of my life, and here am I, in a city remote from the scene of activity; farther south and west the liberators of Germany will assemble, and I must listen here *inactively* to accounts of stirring events as to so many tales. I was in this discontented state of mind when the report gained ground that B. von L——'s proposal was to be granted: it was followed by orders to prepare accommodation for the King and his suite. And he arrived shortly after with his children. Hardenberg was with him, and a crowd of officers and generals followed. General v. York's intrepid action was soon reported, and the war was considered to have commenced, though no declaration had yet been issued; the influx of men, especially young ones, was enormous; every house was crammed, and the streets were all bustle. Scharnhorst had come—Gneisenau was expected—one feeling animated all; business, circumstances, connections, friendship, were thought of only to devote them all to the one great object, but that object had

still to be viewed only through a mist of painful doubt. The King had not approved of General v. York's open and brilliant demonstration; it was not impossible that he might be disgraced for it. The much-respected French ambassador, St. Marsan, accompanied the King to Breslau—the balance yet hung doubtfully, whether, notwithstanding the ardent longings of the whole nation, General v. York might be sacrificed, and common cause made with Napoleon to attack Russia, or whether, allied with Russia, war should be declared against Napoleon.

Among those assembled in Breslau was Bolkenstern, who had been sent by Gneisenau to Halle to keep up the interest of our secret correspondence; he belonged to Scharnhorst's school, that is, to the young officers from whom Gneisenau expected most in the approaching war. I joined a large group of officers at his lodgings, and learned that the Gazette of the same day would contain the King's appeal for a voluntary arming. All the youth of Prussia were expecting it, but on looking over a copy we saw there was no allusion to the object, and this paralyzing silence as to the enemy was discussed with great disapprobation and alarm. In an excitement of mixed joy and apprehension I left the meeting. I passed a disturbed, dreamy night, and awoke early to prepare for a lecture on natural philosophy, which was to be given at eight. I had, as usual, not communicated to my family what had passed at Bolkenstern's, but an idea seized me—"It is for you," I said to myself, "to proclaim the war; your position permits it, and what the Court may afterwards determine will be indifferent to you." I never doubted of the King's determination to join with Russia. That it was utterly impossible to appeal to the youth of Prussia to fight for France was perfectly clear, but there might be reasons for keeping the enemy in suspense, though after the King's appeal they were incomprehensible to me. It is possible, I argued, that to preserve this deception my open act may be disapproved, or even punished; I might be imprisoned—ruined. All this was unworthy of consideration at a moment of such urgency.

My class was not large, there was little interest in the university for philosophy, and the agitation of the time had thinned all the lecture rooms. I was just established in my new residence, of which the lecture-room and my study formed a wing. I was

to give another lecture from eleven till twelve. The first was concluded, and no one had guessed what had occupied my whole mind throughout—it was that which I had for years striven for and longed for. I turned to my hearers and said,

“Gentlemen, I shall give another lecture at eleven o’clock, but I shall choose a theme of all-absorbing importance. The King’s command for a general arming has appeared, or will do so to-day; I shall lecture upon that; let my intention be generally known. If the other lecture-rooms are deserted, it matters not; I expect as many as this room will hold.”

The excitement in the town was unbounded, and the eagerness excessive to know in what direction the suddenly called out force was to be used. Thousands pouring into the town mixed with the inhabitants in the crowded streets, amidst troops, ammunition waggons, cannon, and loads of arms of every description. The slightest word calculated to throw any light on the state of things was caught up and repeated in every direction. Scarcely had the half of my two hours’ interval elapsed before a dense crowd streamed towards my house, and the lecture-room was full to suffocation; many stood at the windows, in the corridor, and the crowd extended even far into the street, of those who could not gain admittance. It was long before I could make my way to my place. I had not yet seen my wife that day; my father-in-law and his daughter lived a story above us, with Von Raumer; my mother-in-law was with us. The crowd which streamed towards our house amazed them, but I think they must have guessed at my intentions. My wife did not dare to venture forth, but I sent her a tranquillizing message by a servant, with a promise to explain all to her by and by. I had passed the two hours in great agitation: what I had to say—the burden which I had groaned under for five years—shook my whole soul; I was to be the first who was to cry aloud that the liberation of Germany, yes, of all Europe, was at hand. I sought in vain to arrange my feelings into words, but I fancied that good spirits were whispering help to me, and I longed for the time of lonely suspense to be over. One thought came clearly to my mind—I reproached myself that I had murmured at being banished to a remote province, and now that very corner had become the splendid centre whence a new era was to emanate, and my voice

was to set the elements in motion. Tears gushed into my eyes. A short prayer tranquillized me, and I stood before the assembly. I know not what I said; had I been asked at the moment that I ended, I could not have told a word. I had no new cause to proclaim—what I said was but the echo of the thoughts and feelings of every hearer. That after calling on the youth to rise, I added my determination to take my part and join the ranks, may well be guessed without my telling it.

At the close of my speech I hastened to tranquillize my family; a few minutes after I was once more alone in my study. It is done at last, I thought, and a load was taken from my heart: but new cares now claimed my thoughts; from that hour my whole position in life was altered; arms were now my profession, and how was I to follow it? I had taken counsel with nobody, and I felt wholly at a loss. Suddenly a thought struck me, I would go to Scharnhorst—he would guide and help me best. I had taken my hat when a deputation from the students appeared: they begged me to continue my address in a larger hall, and named one which would contain five or six hundred hearers, and I was obliged to assent. I longed to go, but could not get away, the students thronged in so continually. A precious hour had thus elapsed when Professor Augusti, then rector of the university, appeared; he had some important communication to make to me in private, and uneasy as I felt at the request, I was very glad of the excuse to clear my room of students. I was on the best of terms with Augusti. He said in a solemn way that he came from the Chancellor of State; that St. Marsan, the French ambassador, had hastened to the Chancellor directly on hearing of my address. He had inquired what it meant. “We are,” said he, “at peace with you, and look upon you as our allies, and now a teacher in the university dares to declare war against us, as if under the sanction of the King.” Hardenberg had answered, “The feelings of the people, especially the youth of Prussia, can be no secret to you; we could not restrain the meeting—it was over before news of the intention reached us; the King discountenances it. Ask for an apology and it shall be given, but I cannot conceal that any step taken against the speaker would make him a martyr, and such excitement would follow as would make our position most difficult.”

The Chancellor communicated to me through the rector that he had heard of my intention of resuming my address on the morrow. He did not desire me to refrain from expressing any of my own opinions, but entreated me not to mention Napoleon's name. By a sort of instinct I had avoided doing so in my first speech ; I had feared that the name might give an air of personal hatred to my appeal, and rob it of the elevated tone of genuine patriotism. My friend left me, and I hastened to Scharnhorst. Colonel von Bayen, now minister of war, one of the most active and intelligent of our confederation, was already there. Scharnhorst embraced me, saying with joyful emotion—"Steffens, you do not know what you have done." I desired no greater praise ; I foresaw that I, a quiet retired man of letters, in the middle age of life, would make but a sorry soldier, but that to the war I must proceed.

I had only lately become acquainted with Scharnhorst ; he was not an officer of the Prussian parade style, but seemed more like a philosopher in uniform. He spoke like a man of deep thought, fully imbued with his subject, which was always one of real importance, and on which his deliberately expressed sentiments carried an irresistible conviction ; both in argument and action he persevered in his point dispassionately, but with determination.

It is told of a legate who was sent to Paris by the Pope to transact business with Napoleon, that on one occasion he resisted the demands so obstinately as to make the Emperor almost despair of carrying his point. Napoleon at last left the room in high displeasure, and having ordered the legate to remain there till his return, shut him in and did not reappear till evening, by which time he hoped that weariness and hunger would have induced submission. After a slight excuse from the Emperor, and a desire to resume the conference, the priest without a syllable of apology went straight forward with his business at the exact point at which it had been suspended. That was exactly the mode in which Scharnhorst always proceeded ; he never flinched in anything he ever undertook against Napoleon, not even when success seemed almost hopeless.

Few were acquainted with the extent of Scharnhorst's powers. Invincible in purpose, untiring in action, all the wisest of our

military leaders looked to him as the centre of their movements. To this great man I turned in the most exciting instant of my life for guidance. I told him that I wished to join one of the detachments of the regular army, and I rejoiced to find that he approved. "We can," he said, "place you at once at headquarters, where you may find work in which your former profession will be useful." He advised me to learn the duties of the service, as at least in the beginning of the war it was desirable that I should be much among the young volunteers whose minds I had excited. He also advised me to present a petition to the King, praying to be allowed to join the service in whatever way his Majesty might please to appoint.

I was now perfectly at ease; my sudden impulse had become a well-considered line of conduct. I forwarded my petition, and in a few days received the following gracious answer:—

"I afford you my entire approbation that you have not only excited the attendants on your lectures in the University to rise in their country's defence in the present imminent danger, but have also devoted yourself to the same praiseworthy service. To which laudable end I grant you leave of absence from your present duties until circumstances may permit you to return to them; and I heartily wish that the example which you have set to younger men, of devotion to their country's cause, may be followed to the happy furtherance of the same.

"FREDERICK WILHELM.

"Breslau, February 16, 1813."

I passed the days which intervened before I received the royal answer in most anxious suspense. The lectures were discontinued, and I gave myself up to wild conjectures as to my future destination. I had not confided to my wife the important step which I had taken, and I had told no one but my father-in-law, who fully approved of all that I had done. I was beset with students in great numbers, not only of Breslau, but from Berlin, and in my state of uncertainty their eagerness increased my perplexity.

On the 20th of February I received his Majesty's letter permitting me to wear officer's uniform and act as an officer, until he should see fit to promote me to the rank of one.

I had now a distinct occupation. Captain von Bolkenstern, my sincere friend, commanded my company, and as a preliminary I paid a serjeant of the company to teach me my exercise. A rather laughable incident occurred in reference to my drilling. As every vacant space was required to exercise the volunteers as well as the regular recruits, the court of my house was sometimes used for the purpose. An old woman who worked occasionally in the family happened to see how the drilling officer sometimes lost his patience with awkward youths—how he seized the shoulders, pressed in the backs to expand the chests, poked the stomachs, and stuck a doubled fist under the chin to throw the head up. She had heard that I too was learning the exercise, and burst with loud wailings into my wife's presence, lamenting that I should have to undergo such treatment. My lot, however, was by no means so bad; my serjeant was very polite, though I cannot boast of being a handy recruit.

I could not, however, devote much time to these useful elements of my military education. I found endless and perplexing business in my office. A register had to be kept of every volunteer, specifying every personal particular. Many thousand volunteers came to me, and some generals who wanted volunteers to fill their detachments honoured me with visits. I had besides no little trouble with the young men, who all desired to join the guards, and who would with great difficulty be persuaded to belong to other corps.

A subject of dispute arose among those who had attached themselves to me. The young volunteers in other guard battalions had obtained permission to wear silver lace on the collar in the place of the white woollen which was worn by the regular men. The guard-chasseur company wore yellow lace, and the volunteers wished to be allowed to have it in gold. I must confess it was inconceivable to me how in such a moment of national enthusiasm the very weakest amongst the young men could think of such trifles; but Bolkenstern agreed with me in the propriety of decidedly refusing the pretension. I looked upon it as one of the most useful circumstances of the times, that the more educated classes should mix with those beneath them in rank and cultivation. I hoped that the higher influence would gradually improve the whole army, and we determined

that the volunteers of the guard-chasseurs should wear the woollen lace, and in all respects throughout the war be on an equality with the common soldier. The press for admission was so great that we did not fear to have our ranks unfilled: some of the most high-born among the youths supported our views, and many who have since filled exalted stations will remember the dispute, and how warmly they declared in favour of our determination.

The Lützow corps was being formed at the same time in Breslau, and I was excited to friendly emulation with Jahn, who was organizing his body of volunteers: his corps was most attractive to the youths of ardent disposition; the very spirit of chivalry seemed to expand amongst them—they were the poetry of the war, and their voice found noble utterance in Körner's lyre.

I had to manage for the clothing of the volunteers: the funds for the purpose were supplied by the voluntary subscriptions which poured in from all parts of Prussia. It is well known how boundless was the emulation to outvie each other in splendid contributions. The miser offered up his worshipped hoard; those who had not money sold their plate and jewels; and many an anxious mother was seen to fit out and send to the war the son whom she had scarcely trusted from her sight. Common and pitiful feelings such as will peep out to disfigure society in ordinary times then scarcely dared to show themselves; men high in station took their place beside the lowest; superiors seemed willing to receive commands from those below them, when they, by longer service, were thought more capable; the difference between giver and receiver seemed to have lost its former meaning; and truly those who witnessed such displays of national virtue after a whole century of peace-engendered imperious bullying, must have seen that which seemed either a miracle or a fairy tale. To some of the poorer volunteers money had been given to provide their own outfits, and it happened sometimes that the small amount had been spent in drinking success to the common cause. I therefore determined henceforth to give nothing but uniforms and military accoutrements. Workmen were employed night and day, and the commander of our

battalion, Gen. von Jagow, proposed to me to equip with utmost speed fifty of the finest young men and present them to the King. The suggestion was complied with, though I would rather have avoided the display, in a wonderfully short time, and we received the royal permission to attend. The King received us in his palace. Amongst the volunteers were the poet Bürde and his three sons, all fine tall men, who stood far above all the rest. Bürde had been secretary to Count von Haugwitz, and was not unknown to the King. The chief of the battalion alone was present; I was in civil costume, my uniform not being completed. The King received this first presentation of Prussian volunteers very graciously, and expressed himself to me in terms which I shall never forget: the audience was soon talked of, and as I did not return to my own house immediately, I found my door on my arrival there beset with carriages—it was men of consequence and generals, who came to congratulate me.

At length my transformation was to take place, and the process was by no means a pleasant one, bordering on the comic. The grave philosopher was to be changed into the raw second lieutenant. The little accomplishments which in youth are attained almost imperceptibly and are practised with ease were hard of attainment at my more advanced period of life: even the difference between my right hand and my left required reflection to remember, and the perception arrived always too late. I hoped that time and practice might remedy this deficiency, but it clung to me to the last—I began and I ended the clumsiest second lieutenant in the whole Prussian army.

Throughout all this preparation the alliance with Russia and the war with Napoleon were still undeclared. At length Baron von Stein arrived in Breslau with the news that Scharnhorst had met the Emperor Alexander at Kalish, and had there, on the 27th of February, concluded a treaty with Russia; but it was not until the 16th of March, almost six weeks after the royal command to take arms, that this treaty was communicated by Hardenberg to St. Marsan.

The Emperor Alexander's approaching arrival was announced, and the troops were ordered to line the streets for his reception. On this occasion I was on duty for the first time in my country's

service. At four in the morning the detachment was paraded and marched to the suburb through which the Emperor was to enter. He was expected early in the morning; we waited in vain; the forenoon passed; we were all tired and hungry. Couriers brought news at last that the Emperor was still so distant that we might leave guard for half an hour. It was almost dark before he arrived: he was received with acclamations by the inhabitants, but the enthusiasm would have been livelier had not everybody been worn out by hunger and impatient waiting: thus was I introduced to those minor duties of the service which are little calculated to excite or support the spirits.

War was declared in Paris through the ambassador. Gen. v. York's demonstration was praised by the King, and became the universal theme of admiration. All the youth of Prussia were emulated by his example, when a most discouraging report arose. It was said that the enthusiastic love of liberty among the volunteer corps was disapproved in high quarters; it was considered extremely dangerous, and was to be restrained. They were not to act against Napoleon, but to be sent to Poland, where disturbances were expected, to protect the rear of the army. The exasperation may be conceived of young minds panting to be led against a hated foe, threatened, instead, to be used as a police force to coerce a people in whose cause they sympathized. Such intentions, however, if really formed, were not acted upon.

Our detachment was sent forward to Lissa. Bolkenstern and I were quartered in the fort, and my military life commenced. A grand review took place of the united corps of Blücher and Wittgenstein; it was my second public appearance as a Prussian officer. Bolkenstern worked very hard at teaching me to perform a salute. "When you are opposite the King," he said, "you must step forward with the—(I never can remember whether it was the right or the left)—foot and lower your sabre," and many more minute directions which I have forgotten. They were my undoing; for when the moment came I was absorbed in thinking over my lesson, and my salute was so sad a bungle that Bolkenstern overwhelmed me with reproaches: happily I had no more such ceremonies to perform, for besides my inexpertness, my whole equipment was far from being a model of military perfection. The guard-chasseur uniform was

very expensive, and consequently the gold epaulette did not grace my shoulder, nor was the schako, adorned with the black eagle, and the rich scarf, ever added.

The painful parting with my family had passed, and we moved on towards the enemy, who came to meet us with a rapidity which after so disastrous a defeat was truly admirable.—I must here introduce a few remarks to prepare the reader for the way in which I shall record my recollections of the campaigns of 1813, 1814. That which engrossed my mind throughout was a sense of the grand principle of the war, a conviction that it was not a struggle of the leaders, but of the people, nor waged merely to preserve a due balance of power—that balance had been long lost already. Since the 'Thirty Years' War the influence of France had been but too predominant, and the later struggles, with the exception of those of Frederick II., had been mere phantoms of resistance. A nation bowed in spirit can reap but small advantage from a victory in the field, and brilliant as were the German successes during the last years of the reign of Louis XIV., and weak as France betrayed herself under Louis XV., she still maintained her sway over the whole of Europe. Germany lost her individual character in a servile and clumsy imitation of everything French; the most despicable adventurers cast out from France were at her courts, while French friseurs, dancers, menials of every description found a certain road to fortune by condescending to accept posts of honour among the barbarians of Germany. In all history there is no example of such utter prostration of spirit, such voluntary humiliation, and not till all seemed prepared to extinguish the last dying embers of nationality was the spark of German independence rekindled. The war which followed was not one undertaken by a ruler and supported by his followers, but it was determined on in every honourable breast, and each man proclaimed it for himself. The moral question put to every mind was solemn—the answer was decided. It is true that a great part of Germany still remained attached to Napoleon—enticed, bound to France as in the unholy times of the Thirty Years' War, when Germans fought with Germans. But how remarkable was the difference between those times and these! Napoleon's great historical importance will consist in this, that by his open tyranny he destroyed the latent

influence which had been growing up for centuries, and by his violence forced every German to decide whether he would bow finally to the yoke or rouse to a saving effort.

During our tedious delay in Lissa, and our march through Silesia and the Lausitz towards Dresden, we were enlivened by meeting Tettenborn's division, advancing towards Hamburg, and Dornberg's towards Lüneburg. I found Stein and Moritz Arndt in Dresden, where I remained a few days, relieved from the annoyances of military duty. It was my first personal introduction to the great German. I broke a lance with him, and my weapon was one which I knew better how to use than those which I had so lately assumed—it was a friendly strife, but an earnest one.

Stein was a man of deeds, not words, straightforward in action. He grasped and mastered every difficulty at the moment it arose, and he hated or pretended to hate speculation, and attacked me as a theorist. I was dining with him one day when only Moritz Arndt was present.—“Your propositions,” said he, “are mere subtleties—bare dogmas, calculated only to cripple every enterprising deed.” “If,” said I, “my speculations had not taken a practical turn, I should not have the honour to appear before you equipped as I now am; but the desire to realize all that is felt within, or apprehended by the senses, not according to outward semblance, but to the true spiritual import, is not the arbitrary whim of this person or of that, it is the moving spring of the mind of Germany, and through this it is that my friend Schelling has so influenced the national character.” “Yes,” answered Stein, “I know well that the German youth are intoxicated with these vain theories; Germans have an unfortunate love for subtle reasoning, hence they neglect tangible good, and are the prey of every cunning enemy.” “Your Excellency,” I said, “the German youth has risen in vast masses, yet many still hold back, and among those who do so I will venture to assert, not one of the intoxicated theorists is to be found. Who has more effectually incited the people to rouse and arm than our two great masters of speculative philosophy, Fichte and Schleiermacher? Your Excellency's time is too precious to be spent on subtleties which seem unpractical, but to me nothing seems more unpractical than to overlook a principle which you confess has become an element of the national mind.”

I was almost frightened at my boldness. Stein grumbled rather angrily at first, but said smilingly afterwards—"Well, I am only an unpractical theorizer myself, wasting time in useless speculations on the views of others."

Mutual jealousies arose between the regular troops and the volunteers, whose unbridled ardour gave great offence. Many of those brought up in strict military discipline feared that the volunteer spirit would be a self-destructive element in the army, and held it their duty to keep it in continual check. Major von Z., who after Jagow's departure became chief of our battalion, had been General v. York's adjutant during the Russian campaign, and was highly esteemed by him. He was notwithstanding one of those who thought the volunteers ought to be kept under, and he expressed his conviction not only when I had the honour of being his guest, but openly before the whole detachment. My unfortunate awkwardness, which was incomprehensible to him, called forth endless reflections upon useless, clumsy philosophers. On such occasions my position was not very flattering in the presence of my former disciples, among whom I was now the most stupid of the scholars; they supported me, however, on every occasion, and never failed to let me feel that they still remembered our former very different relation to each other.

Once in a village, the name of which has escaped my memory, a general advance was commanded. I was among the first who after a hasty equipment joined the major at the rendezvous, and was ordered to march with a small party in a certain direction before the village, in order to act as promptly as might be required on the approach of the enemy. I received no more particular orders. I ventured to inquire in which direction the enemy's approach might be expected.—"That you must find out," said the major, and I undertook the duty with much anxiety. I was utterly deficient in military experience, and was, as my friend Schall once called me in a poem, only a natural born soldier. I went with my small party in the appointed direction, judged as well as I could from very uncertain reports of the probable direction of the enemy, and posted two men on an eminence to reconnoitre, and behind them an advanced post—whether they were too far off or too near I was wholly ignorant. The major came to review my position, and a storm then fell

upon my unhappy head, which convinced me that I should not be able to continue that line of service. I was treated as the most incomparably stupid of human beings, the reproaches being varied by lively sallies on the uselessness of bookworms; in the course of these I was made answerable for all the trashy pamphlets of miserable authors which had been published since the subjugation of Prussia.—“Where did you look for the enemy?” “There,” I said, “answering to the reports.” “You should have expected them on the other side—you ought to have known better.” A large portion of the detachment were witness of this scene, including a number of my Breslau students. I had, as my rank required, received it all in silence, but later on the same day I waited on the major; he was more civil than before, and I sought neither to excuse myself nor complain of him, but represented that my position in regard to many in the detachment made it desirable for me to be appointed elsewhere, and that, as General Scharnhorst had only intended me to be in it for a time, my removal would save the major the unpleasant duty of correcting me in the presence of my own pupils.

It was then late in April, and we were approaching Altenburg, where General Blücher had his head-quarters. With Bolkenstern's consent I joined them. Scharnhorst presented me to Blücher, who wished me to remain unattached, and all was arranged, even to my being provided with a horse, which Scharnhorst kindly undertook for me.

I found Gneisenau as commandant of head-quarters, and Colonel von Müffling. The little town of Altenburg was in great excitement. The refugee King of Sweden, under the name of Colonel Gustavson, had lately arrived, and occasioned no small perplexity to the Prussian generals. It was very desirable to win over the then Crown Prince, Bernadotte, to join us, and it was plain that the exiled King hoped in secret to strengthen his own cause by the aid of Blücher and his generals, while he naturally expected that they would entertain no great partiality for the former French commander.

In the present important conjuncture, however, his absence was greatly to be desired, and that opinion was hardly concealed from him. I saw the thin, slender-looking King, one day, with his long, fair face, and the peculiar features of the ancient royal

family strongly marked, standing at the door of a post-house; he wished to depart, and asked for horses, but all were under requisition. It was perhaps right to refuse them without orders, but a stable-boy did so in the most offensive manner, and I had the distress of seeing an anointed king, the descendant of Gustavus Vasa, and of that Gustavus Adolphus whose memory should be sacred in Germany, ill-treated by a menial. The King—for he had never ceased to be one in my eyes—made no reply; he turned away; and though his history inspired me with more pity than respect, I thought there was something truly royal in his demeanour. I was with Colonel von Gerlach: we both saluted him as he passed, and he received the compliment as a matter of course, and answered it with most kingly dignity.

Blücher was quartered at the Hotel Stadt Gotha. When I first joined the table there he was absent, with many of his officers. The Freemasons held a great meeting at Altenburg, and Blücher was the grand-master. His love for speech-making made the society attractive to him, and it is said that he obtained his remarkable facility in speaking at the Freemasons' lodge. He came to the hotel before the dinner ended, and the conversation seemed to indicate that the war was about to begin in earnest, and that an engagement was expected. News was repeated that the enemy were advancing from various quarters. Councils of war were held, and I enjoyed the excitement of feeling myself in the very centre of important operations; my only perplexity was to wonder what sort of active service I could possibly perform.

One thing seemed certain—that I was to remain for the whole of the war at Blücher's head-quarters. It is most difficult to give a true description of that wonderful man, whose memory will live as long as the records of the war itself; he has been so often sketched that it is hard for many to divest the personal idea of him of many trifles unworthy of his greatness. His *Life*, written by our great biographer, Varnhagen von Ense, is universally read, and deserves to be so.

Blücher might be called a phenomenon (*Incorrecte Erscheinung*); there was a want of keeping in the parts of his character, yet this very eccentricity produced his greatness. In him all that was strange and incompatible in that wonderful war wa-

represented; therefore it was as easy for his admirers to throw all other heroes in comparison with him into the shade, as for his dispraisers to describe him as a mere phantom. The severe moralist will find much in him to censure, yet he was the very centre of the moral impulse of the war. Compared with Napoleon, who invented a new system of military tactics, he cannot be called a great commander, yet in that character he won immortal fame. His speech was bold, like a rough, uncultivated soldier, yet sometimes it rose to such a pitch of eloquence as had been heard from no military hero of modern times; he obeyed the impulse of the moment, but the impulse was deep as it was quick; his perception was so vivid that he would see every difficulty in an instant and be dashed into despair; a few more instants and he would grasp the means of action, and fasten on his object with redoubled energy. That object was Napoleon's downfall. His hatred to the tyrant mingled with the conviction that he was born to work his ruin, and he pursued his purpose as if led by an unerring instinct. He was a striking contrast to Napoleon: Napoleon studied all the phases of the revolution, and worked them out to the uses of his ambition, and he knew how to influence every ripple of the mighty stream which was to wash away the last traces of nationality. Blücher stood forth, a mighty nature, bearing the fire of youth in an aged but iron frame, destined to denounce the nothingness of the deepest scheming which was ever known in history.

The broken divisions of the beaten French army had to pass through a land inflamed with detestation, in order to join their reinforcements in their own territory. We must not deny the enemy full praise for the admirable tact and determination which they displayed under a calamity great enough to have overpowered an army of heroes. On their retreat a sort of preliminary war took place, which, compared with the great struggle in which all Europe was engaged, might be called an affair of outposts. The German legions, combined with the Russians, took advantage of the unfortunate position of the French retiring forces, and won successes which, at the time, were important. Dornberg's bold seizure of Lüneburg, and Tettenborn's occupation of the French city of Hamburg, were inspiring incidents, raising the hopes of Germany, as did the first great overt act of

General v. York at Königsberg. These triumphs had their value, but it was easy to perceive that the advantages could not be supported, and it is too well known how dearly they were paid for in both cities, especially in Hamburg; in the mean time the masses were collecting which were to decide the tremendous contest. France felt that she had to fight for her existence, and the magical word, "the glory of the Great Nation," was as yet an unbroken spell. Napoleon was still to the French people their great leader, the conqueror of Europe, and the arming nations were rebels to his sway. Nature had for once joined to withstand him, and had triumphed for a moment; deprived of her aid, the resisting armies were again but the assemblage of so many easily to be re-conquered provinces. Holland, Belgium, Italy, and the south of Germany still obeyed Napoleon, and trembled at the power of his name; Westphalia was yet nominally French, though she was united in heart to us; while Austria, though wavering, was still in alliance with France. Many discouraging circumstances hung over the united enterprise of Russia and Prussia. A mighty impulse, it is true, had called up a Prussian army with a truly wonderful celerity, but the organization was by no means complete, and time must elapse before any great force could be expected from Russia, distant as that country was, and exhausted by her late resistance.

This then was the state of Europe at the time when the new French army, issuing from their frontier, met the weakened forces returning from their Russian campaign: when a large division under General Wittgenstein, in conjunction with Blücher, prepared to meet the concentrated force of France.

In regard to my personal position I can only lament that I was as little qualified to be one of Blücher's staff as I had been for a second-lieutenant. I was devoid of technical knowledge, and though all were kind to me, each had too many duties of his own to find time to enlighten my unhappy state of ignorance; my records of the campaign will, therefore, be wholly deficient in military detail, and the reader will be less disappointed if he will permit me to call them, not a history of the war, but sketches of my adventures on the road to Paris during the campaigns of 1813 and 1814.

CHAPTER IX.

Evening before my first Battle—Search for a Horse—Personal Disasters—Battle of Gros-Görschen—Prince William—Unpleasant Sensations—Gneisenau's Coolness—Retreat towards Pegau—Blücher's Address to the Troops—Russians attacked at Müldethal—Meissen—Savage Destruction of Life at the Outposts—Retreat continued—Bautzen—Council of War—Conjectures—Proposal to destroy Germans taken in Arms—Kleinwelke—Herrnhuters—Crossing through the Fire—Unexpected Courage—Kriekwitz Heights—View of the Field—Battle of Bautzen: suspended for the Night; resumed in the Morning—The Heights no longer tenable—Blücher's Rage—Retreat—Waldau—Breslau abandoned—Journey thither.

1813.

BLÜCHER had quitted Altenburg, and we all expected a general engagement. Late in the evening of the 1st of May I sat in lonely expectation in a small cottage. Though much excited by the prospect of a battle, my spirits were anything but elated, and I must confess that some personal considerations helped to keep them down. I had, it is true, been removed from a painful position, yet my present was unpleasantly dubious. Scharnhorst had not found time to give me any orders, and for the first time in my life I was without the power of independent action, and yet found myself in a moment of general preparation not only without any appointed duty to perform, but doubtful, were I to be employed, whether I should aid or impede the cause. There was something cruelly humiliating in my situation, and the more enthusiastically I had anticipated the approaching contest, which had been the longing desire of so many years, the more wretched did I feel. I was pacing my little room with restless steps, when the sound of a galloping horse's feet stopped suddenly at my door. The rider threw himself off, and gave me a letter from Scharnhorst. "Here at last are my orders; now have I a place and part in the important day." I tore it open, and read as follows:

"Dear Steffens,—I am sorry to be obliged to beg you to send

me back the horse which I lent you. I lament that you will thus be prevented from appearing on the field of battle. It is the animal which I always ride on great occasions; and I fear that you will be obliged to remain in the rear to await, as I trust, the victorious issue of the day."

I gave up the horse, and now I was in despair. If I were absent from the field I felt that I should be disgraced, and incapable of service for the rest of the campaign. I had heard the name of the village where the garde-chasseur battalion was posted; I set off and by walking a mile joined it at last, though, having had some difficulty in finding a guide, it was nearly morning before I reached it. I called up the chief of the battalion, and begged him to put me in the way of obtaining a horse. I was conducted to a countryman, who at first stoutly resisted my demand, but at length produced one. It was a yellow chesnut, old, half-starved cart-horse; his ribs might be counted, and his hips stood up like the sharp sides of a rock. I climbed up to the miserable saddle, evidently the peasant's own manufacture, and after much effort the poor animal got its limbs set in motion. It was obstinate, and its mouth was as hard as iron. No Prussian horseman ever cut so strange a figure. The knapsack which the guide had carried was fastened behind, and it was long before I got the clumsy beast into a trot. Which way to look for the field of battle I knew not; but as the day began to dawn I thought I perceived troops in the distance, though I was quite ignorant whether they were friend or foe. I rode forward, however, till I reached a large, open, gradually sloping field. Here I found a large body of Prussian infantry formed into line. How it took place I cannot tell, but suddenly I found my horse and myself in the very front, hindering the advance. An officer of rank, who must have been greatly astonished at the singular apparition, came up with angry looks, exclaiming, "What the d— are you doing here?" General von York had been pointed out to me in Altenburg; I recognised him with dismay, while I made a desperate but for some time unavailing effort to induce my charger to retire from his position. I have but a confused impression of how I got out of the scrape; I only remember the sound of the General's scornful reproof. When I subsequently became well acquainted with him, and related the

history of the disaster, he was highly entertained. After many inquiries and much riding backwards and forwards, I found Scharnhorst. He told me to remain near him, and ordered one of his adjutants to mount me on a baggage-horse. It was nearly noon, and the engagement began ; but I had no idea whatever of the position either of our force or the enemy's. Cannonading was heard all round, and the enemy seemed to be behind Gross-Görschen, but I could not perceive them.

I rode together with Gneisenau and the officers surrounding Blücher. The enemy stood before the houses of the village. A charge of cavalry was made on our side, and I suddenly found myself in the midst of a shower of balls. Prince Wilhelm's horse was shot dead under him. The charge was repulsed. Of how I got into the midst of it and how I got out again I can give no account whatever ; only two things remained clear on my recollection : one was the sensation caused by the enemy's grape-shot. It seemed to me as if the balls came in thick masses on every side—as if I was in a heavy shower of rain without getting wet. Yet I cannot say that I was exactly overcome with fear ; the impression was more strange and peculiar than alarming. The second object which distinctly impressed me was Prince William. He was then about thirty years of age, handsome in person, with the undaunted air which belonged to his royal race ; and he was mounted on a splendid charger, which he managed perfectly. As he rode, smiling and composed, amidst the shower of balls, he seemed to me like a fair vision which I shall never forget. Gneisenau seemed quite joyfully in his element. Immediately after the attack he gave me a message to General Wittgenstein, and now began my darker part of the day. I rode forward, and looked about. That the battle was still raging near Gross-Görschen was proved by the tremendous cannonade of the enemy. I had no idea where to find Wittgenstein. Everything round me seemed confused, and as if I was covered with a veil. I felt a tottering, a swimming, which sprang from my inmost soul, and increased every moment. I was plainly seized with a panic—the cannon fever. I found Wittgenstein notwithstanding, and delivered my message ; and as I returned I met the detachment of my own volunteers, who as yet had taken no part in the engagement, but expected orders every instant to

advance. I described to them under all the excitement of the moment exactly what I had seen and experienced. The young men listened with thirsting curiosity. It is well known how they distinguished themselves that day by their daring valour. When I rejoined Gneisenau all was in active engagement, every man knowing his duty and working hard in his appointed place. Nobody of course troubled themselves about me, and the feeling of my inability overwhelmed me, whilst I was obliged to stand there a mere useless looker-on. I perceived Scharnhorst carried wounded away ; I had lost sight of Gneisenau. I was surrounded by strangers, and I found myself at last alone, with the enemy's balls howling around me.

There are several sorts of courage as well as reasons for its failure. I was on the battle-field for the first time, not only without any distinct duty, but contrary to the orders of my commanding officer. To the consciousness of this I attribute the uncontrollable panic which seized me, yet I never entertained an idea of retiring from the scene ; such a possibility did not once occur to me, and I managed to collect my senses so as to observe what passed for the space of two hours. Sometimes the fight in and about Gross-Görschen came nearer to me, and I saw the Prussian cavalry exposed to the fire from the guns. I saw how their ranks thinned, and how, as here one and there another was unhorsed, with frightful wounds, the rest quietly closed up and filled the spaces. At length I found myself late in the evening again with Gneisenau, and close to the village. He, who must have noticed my agitation, was himself perfectly calm and cheerful, notwithstanding that the issue of the day was still uncertain. "Steffens," said he, turning to me, "is not that a grand cannonade? it is to celebrate your birthday." He had passed the last anniversary with me in my house ; that he should remember and joke upon it at such a moment struck me as wonderful. As it became dark I joined Major von Schutz at a bivouac fire, and there heard of the advance of our cavalry, which attempted a charge against the enemy. That charge failed ; and although we maintained possession of the field from which the enemy had withdrawn, it was determined that we should retire towards Pegau. I rode in the dark by the side of Schutz to the edge of a rather steep declivity by which our troops were marching in

slow and perfect order, while other detachments were reposing by the bivouac fires, which lighted up the trees. The impression of such a scene, which afterwards became familiar to me, was at first very striking. We reached the little town in the middle of the night; it was crammed with troops, but we got a tolerable lodging, and through intelligent officers who had been in the engagement I got some general insight into the events of the day and their results. This was most welcome; for hitherto all was mystery and confusion to my understanding. The object of the great contest, as it had engrossed me for so long, again rose clearly to my perception, and I felt convinced that I should not meet a second battle as I had done the first.

In spite of our retreat we looked on the affair as a success, for the troops had stood bravely against Napoleon, and a most valiant spirit pervaded the whole army. Satisfied with our position, and reconciled with myself, I slept.

On the 3rd of May I joined Blücher in Borna, and found the troops in regular march, all in close order, as if going to meet an enemy; nothing betrayed the appearance of a retreat. Blücher had received a slight wound, but was in high spirits. Prince William was with him, and remembered that he had seen me early in the fight, and I received compliments which were far from being due to me, and which made me feel ashamed, though I trusted and believed that, had I been in the performance of some active duty, I should have found my courage much more manageable than it had been in my idle position.

For the first days the retreat was continued over a sandy level. Blücher was in the midst of the troops as they proceeded leisurely. The army was in such perfect order that many considered the retreat an unnecessary disgrace, and as this opinion was rather boldly expressed, it came to Blücher's ears, who thought it necessary to address the troops about it. This was my first opportunity of admiring his astonishing eloquence. The substance of the speech is generally known, for it was published to appease the whole army, as well as to tranquillize the people. "You are right," I heard him say, "you are not beaten—you kept the field, and the enemy withdrew; their loss was greater than yours;" and he then explained to them all his motives for not pushing on the battle, as well as those for retiring. I heard

him repeat the same to various divisions as they came up; and while I praise the facility and noble simplicity of his expression, as well as the power of giving the same meaning in so many various forms, as often as he had to repeat it, I must confess that there was something besides the words which gave such effect to the address, and that much was owing to the appearance and manner of the aged but powerful-looking man.

We were not attacked that evening, though the enemy followed closely on our rear; a few unimportant skirmishes only took place; nor was our actual retreat much molested till we reached Meissen. I remember once at Müldethal, not far from Colditz, where the army had to cross the river, there was considerable confusion; the valley widened at the point of crossing, and was surrounded by rather high hills. Just as the confusion was the greatest, news arrived that the Russian General Milaradowitsch was fiercely attacked. While I looked anxiously about I perceived that Blücher and his followers were as calm as possible, and that no movement took place, except that adjutants hastened backwards and forwards from him to the Russian General. It appeared to me that the heavy firing both of cannon and small arms was approaching fast, and I fancied every minute that the whole hostile army would burst upon us. I felt like a landsman in his first storm at sea, who looks with amazement at the composure of the sailors. Milaradowitsch, however, withstood the attack, and soon came up with Blücher, without any considerable loss.

When we halted on this side of the Elbe, near Meissen, the two armies were posted just out of reach of gun-shot, but the outposts, who were stationed on each bank of the river, opposite to each other, frequently exchanged shots. We stood on a height out of the reach of the fire, but near enough to observe how men in each party quietly levelled their pieces, and took deliberate aim at individuals, and when a man fell we heard the shouts of joy. I have felt firm while I have seen many fall in battle, but this savage coolness filled me with horror.

We still retreated slowly. Blücher's head-quarters were at a village behind Bautzen, and he remained there some days while

continual skirmishes took place. The King and royal family were lodged in a castle close by, and I had the honour of being invited to dinner by Prince Augustus, who had sometimes talked with me during the retreat. Prince William was in the same castle, and they both had a separate dinner at the same table, each for his own guests. Through Prince William's adjutant I obtained the luxury of a bed, which I had not enjoyed for many nights, and I had scarcely thrown myself into it half undressed, when I fell into a sleep so sound that it lasted far into the following day.

We passed our time at head-quarters very idly and wearily ; at length it was varied by the arrival of some generals, who held a council of war. We lingered before the house trying to catch reports, but could learn nothing positively, though it was generally understood that we were to take up a position and offer battle. Many jokes passed upon this movement, and it was asked whether it was to be made in fact, or in a Fichtian sense—in a positive or a transcendental mode. There seemed no expectation of a real, important conflict.

Many of the ultra-patriotic had proposed that the Southern Germans, who were taken in arms against their country, should be shot. It was thought that it might have a useful influence on those German troops which were in the French army, and that they might in consequence come over to our side. Of the probable reprisals very few seemed to care, or of the bitter spirit which would be infused into the war. Some of the Wurtemberg prisoners were brought to our village : I was by Gneisenau when he addressed one of them, a very fine-looking young man ; he tried to make him perceive how wrong it was for Germans to be fighting against their countrymen. The man looked good-natured, but stupid, and was evidently a fresh recruit. "I would rather have remained at home," he said ; "father, mother, and sister cried when I was taken away, but I was obliged to go, though I did it with a heavy heart." "I should like to know," said I, as we walked away, "whether any German could be so fanatic as to shoot such a poor wretch as that." "Not yet," answered Gneisenau ; "but if, from which God keep us, this war should last for years, who can say what we may do ? The blood of the men of the Thirty Years' War runs in our veins,

and after long repeated provocation and mutual barbarities, we may become such as to afford our enemies a sure and bitter triumph, even should we conquer them."

Early in the morning of the 20th of May I received orders to summon Lieut.-Colonel von Witzleben from his post behind Kleinwelke, the Herrnhuter colony. The landlord of the Herrnhuter hotel told me that he saw plainly that their town would be within the scene of battle, but he displayed the most perfect composure. The whole town wore its usual friendly and tranquil aspect, very few people were in the streets, all was in order, and all quite quiet in the hotel, as was usual among the Herrnhuters. When I had delivered my despatches to Colonel Witzleben, he informed me as a warning that the enemy was close at hand. I was uncertain which way to go. It was plain that Blücher was concentrating his force, and I hardly hoped to find him again in the village where I left him. It was a lovely May morning. I rode forwards uncertain whether I should pursue the road or turn back, and I soon perceived the glittering of arms before me. Some horsemen here and there rode out singly: I recognized the enemy, and found myself pursued. As I galloped swiftly back again through Kleinwelke, I saw the sisters in procession in their simple, exquisitely neat costume, passing quietly on to the church; I could not pause, the enemy were close behind, but I carried with me a vision of peace and heavenly piety, displayed for one moment on the spot where human strife and slaughter were so soon to rage.

I reached some Prussian troops, and was directed by them to the heights of Krickwitz, where I should find Blücher. It was near noon. As I rode towards him, over an inclining plain, I saw many skirmishes around, and got into the midst of a hot fire from the enemy. Whether the impression caused by the pious sisterhood supported me, or whether use was beginning to blunt my sense of danger, I cannot tell; but freely as I confessed my panic on the field of Görschen, so must I now be allowed to say that no idea of fear at this time came into my head. Some rising ground prevented my seeing the heights beyond, and while I

saw other officers dashing hurriedly across the dangerous field, I was able to turn with composure to inquire my way. I found that our troops were all in the hollows, and when I perceived that I must pass over the rising ground before me, which was fully exposed to the fire, I felt it almost entertaining that I should be the only poor mark for the heavy cannonade.

I found Blücher. The hill which he occupied, and on which he was closely surrounded by his staff, is strongly impressed upon my memory, for we kept our post there the whole of that and the following day. A bare rock of granite crowned the hill, and it commanded an extensive view, including the wide-spread field of battle. To our left lay Löbau—exactly before us Bautzen; the town was obscured by intervening hills, but its towers were to be seen above them. The Spree flowed on the right, the banks strongly defended by our troops; and beyond I perceived Kleinwelke, which I had so lately left, and which, as a point of sacred interest, attracted my eye and feelings during the whole course of the two days' battle.

Every part of the field was clearly visible in the bright dazzling noonday. We saw the Russians fighting near Löbau. The scene of the hottest fight was between Bautzen and us, on the banks of the Spree; it was partly hidden from us by the hills which rose on each side of the river, but we could hear that the firing was very sharp and heavy. Some cannon-balls came amongst us, and scouts were continually coming and going. I had brought with me a very excellent mounted Dollond from Breslau, which was in great request among the generals; when it was at liberty for me to observe particular parts of the field, my attention was riveted to the spots where great struggles were maintained: especially towards Löbau where the Russians were engaged. I saw first one and then another fall, and the contending masses advancing or falling back from either side. When I lifted up my eyes for a general view, what a strange scene it was! The district was fertile, the villages numerous—all, as we supposed, deserted by the inhabitants. The whole country seemed to have changed its character; a tragic veil hung over every object; a fatal destiny lowered over every town and hamlet. In 1817 I again passed over the battle plain, and saw the fair landscape

and the peaceful villages ; but the fearful picture of it as I had beheld it disfigured by the war, rose to my memory, and seemed to hide the happier present from my view.

It became dark, the firing ceased all around, and a wonderful repose succeeded to the turmoil of the day of noise and strife. Only here and there a single shot broke on the stillness of the evening. On the whole the issue of the first day was satisfactory ; our troops had nowhere been beaten from their positions, and our head quarters remained on the same heights throughout the night, since it was determined to renew the contest on the following day. I stood, late at night, by General Braun, of the Artillery, and we counted the blaze of eighteen burning villages ; my heart bled for the poor inhabitants. The soldier is sadly too soon absorbed in his own work ; the most humane learns to think of the inhabitants of the theatre of war as being only so much inconvenient incumbrance which must be got out of the way ; but the mass of soldiery let loose their wild and destructive passions to oppress them. As I gazed on the burning landscape fearful images possessed my imagination ; women with their children, in despair—men who would protect them—butchered ; maidens flying from ruthless pursuers ; a host of spectres surrounded me and filled me with an overwhelming terror.

Such terrible sensations did not again make me their prey ; they were the result of our singular position. The Krickwitz heights were almost in the centre of the military operations, and it was necessary to defend them at any cost ; the enemy were therefore kept as far as possible off in a vast semicircle ; and those who were not sent with orders to different parts of the field had time to observe and reflect, while the mind fed on its own resources to lay up fearful images for the hours of repose.

We were, as it may be supposed, careful not to attract the observation of the enemy by any bivouac fires. I wrapped myself at last in my cloak, laid myself on the grass, and got a few hours' sound sleep under the mild May sky. The cold air of the morning waked me, as well as the companion who had slept by me ; he was the son of General Scharnhorst, and had been one of my former pupils in Halle.

The early rising thus in the open field, at the dawn of a fresh spring morning, produced a very different impression from that felt

on a morning before an expected battle, when the night has been passed within quarters. Every one sleeps then, as it were, within reach of his arms; but on rising, usual habits are not neglected—preparations for the day, for dressing, and breakfasting, are even more carefully attended to than usual, and the contrast is striking between the little cares incident to common life and the great events which the day has to disclose. Here, as we awaked in the midst of the open landscape, Nature herself in her power and grandeur filled the mind with lively emotion. Young Scharnhorst was not without good hope of the issue of the day which was dawning upon us. He had received a slight wound from a shot which grazed the ear, which, though not severe enough to disable him, caused him considerable pain. As we sat together a peasant family approached, a man with wife and child; they had lingered after all others had fled in a village which was in the centre of the scene of contest, and their terror was great. We knew not how to advise them; but as they had been long without food, we shared our breakfast with them.

Scharnhorst explained minutely the position of the forces, and pointed out clearly how all ours had entirely maintained their posts of the preceding day. Everything as yet was perfectly still; but in less than another half hour shots were heard here and there as the outposts skirmished with each other. A heavy gun from either army sounded a solemn morning salute, and generals and adjutants were again grouped together. The attack became rapidly more general; soon it was hot everywhere, and it was the same vast struggle of yesterday, suspended only by the few short hours of darkness. I saw how fierce the fight was towards Löbau, and from thence in our direction, and what great exertions we had to make the whole morning to maintain our ground. The enemy's cannonade was directed towards the central hill where we were posted; it came every minute nearer, and sounded heavier; the villages through which the retreat must be made, in case we should be compelled to retire, were in imminent danger; yet the road was still open to us behind, and the enemy pressed on in front harder and harder. It was nearly noon, as far as I remember, when no hope remained of our being longer able to maintain the Krickwitz heights. I shall never forget Blücher's rage when he called furiously for his horse, intending to lead on

a charge of cavalry. The generals, however, surrounded him with entreaties to abstain from so desperate a measure, which would risk everything by sacrificing his own life. They restrained the veteran with the utmost difficulty, and a general retreat was ordered.

We moved towards the town of Buschwitz but little molested by the enemy, and our head quarters rested there some time. I was near Prince William, and had another opportunity of seeing him escape from an imminent danger. A cannon-ball struck the ground just under his horse; the horse, of course, plunged forward, and the ball rebounded high upwards in an arch, without injuring any one in the dense crowd amongst which it fell.

We continued the retreat through Reichenbach and Görlitz, and reached the Silesian frontier at Waldau. Many skirmishes took place, and some attacks from the enemy, which were so repulsed that the order of our retreat was not interfered with. It was in one of those that Duroc lost his life by a cannon-ball, as he was riding by the side of Napoleon. We saw the confusion which ensued, and guessed that some great personage had been wounded. Since the beginning of the battle of Bautzen we had had little refreshment; a retreat is always a time of privation. Waldau is a considerable town, with a large trade in Bohemian and Hungarian wine. I turned into a wine-house, where the cellar-doors were pressed on by a crowd of soldiers and officers mixed together. I reached one at last, bought some wine which I gave to a soldier who waited on me, and retired to the refreshment-room to enjoy some of it with a few companions. I had sat there quietly for some time, when I discovered that I had lost my purse, the contents of which were considerable and my whole resource for the greater part of the campaign. I rushed out in dismay, entreated the crowd before the cellar-door to make way for me, and found my purse where it had lain undisturbed for half an hour; Cossacks, Russians, and Prussians had come in crowds and gone again, and not one had discovered the treasure which lay at his feet.

I had another adventure in this place. I was quartered in one of the remotest houses, and being very tired, slept most soundly. At the first break of morning a loud knocking at my door roused me. "Come instantly!" cried a voice; "the place is evacuated,

the enemy close upon it; we have only this moment remembered you in your distant quarters." I was of course dressed in a few minutes, and soon mounted; I hastened towards the castle of the village, the road to which I knew. I found it deserted both by inhabitants and soldiers. General Krauseneck alone still remained; I found him in an empty room, and learned that a Cossack detachment had abandoned their outpost by mistake, thinking it protected by the Prussians. We got up with Blücher only at some distance from Waldau, on the road to Haynau.

I obtained information that the retreat was to be continued beyond Schweidnitz, and a stand was to be made there in order to conjoin with the newly-organised Prussians and the advancing Russian troops. Breslau was to be abandoned. At Halle I had felt once what it was to know that my family was in the enemy's power, and I had determined, if I were to join the army, that they must be placed well in the rear. I easily obtained leave from Gneisenau to go for a few days to Breslau, and thus, I grieve to say, I lost being present at the brilliant affair at Haynau. That unpremeditated and successful attack, as well as the conduct of our army during the retreat, assisted greatly to convince Napoleon of the serious prospect of his campaign. The French pursued us with so little precaution, as our spies informed us, that they were in a state to be overcome by any sudden attack. It was said that Major Rühle often pressed Barclay de Tolly to take advantage of this opportunity; and it was not until the absence of that General that the advice was acted upon, and followed by a brilliant success.

CHAPTER X.

Reichenbach—Fears of Napoleon's Influence with Austria—Employed to reconnoitre—Attached to the Russian Corps—Schmiedeberg—Review of Personal Position—Attack on Griefenberg—My Servant's sudden change of Character—Plunder—General Bistram—Affair at Katzbach—Cossacks—French Summer Encampment—Russian luxuries—Radmeritz—Ball given by the Russians—Distressing Compliment—The Wounded—Bautzen—Gneisenau's Prophecy—Blücher's Passage of the Elbe—Battle of Warthenburg: celebrated in the Castle—Blücher's Speech on the Death of Scharnhorst—Dessau—Halle—Napoleon's Plans anticipated.

1813.

PRINCE Bishop Hohenlohe-Bartenstein had offered his residence at Johannisberg as a place of refuge to Councillor Schultz and his family, and my wife accompanied them thither. I left Breslau after two days' stay, and rejoined head-quarters in Reichenbach. Berlin was threatened as well as Breslau, and the old men, women, and children hastened towards the Austrian frontier; all the young men were with the army.

Fresh Prussian troops were continually arriving, Russians marched into Silesia from Poland, and every street was full when I reached Reichenbach. The whole allied army were grouped round that centre. The Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia were near, first in Schweidnitz, and afterwards in Obergördisberg; Moreau was expected. An alliance had been formed with the Crown Prince of Sweden, but great anxiety was caused by the truce which had been proposed by Napoleon before the battle of Bautzen. It was feared that he would use the time to influence the Austrian court, and there were fears that many even in the Russian and Prussian courts were still secretly attached to his interest. There were rumours of a proposal from Napoleon, that the Elbe should be the boundary of his territory. At Blücher's head-quarters the determination was fixed and strong, that he should be treated with only on the other side of

the Rhine. The two battles which had been fought rather raised than depressed the hope of future victories; and it was loudly proclaimed that the war must be carried forward in the spirit which gave rise to it, and that it would remain a deep national disgrace if it were abandoned without a signal triumph, such as should cripple Napoleon's power for ever. I was too much behind the scenes not to be aware of the doubtful and dangerous point on which our deepest interests turned. We were reduced at last to rest our hopes on one man, and that was Napoleon himself: our chief reliance was on his obstinacy, which might exhaust the patience of the negotiating princes. The truce was declared on the 5th of May, but the war was apparently suspended only to be secretly pursued by our enemy by means of different but more dangerous tactics; and the better informed among us knew that the secret weapons of the foe were now used in the very midst of us. Two months passed on with the daily anxious inquiry, "Will Napoleon win Austria, or will Austria be true to us?" The news of Scharnhorst's death, which took place in Prague, was an inauspicious omen, and increased the painful doubts of that most anxious period.

During the truce I was employed to collect secret information regarding the enemy. Von Oppen furnished me with a correct statement of the French forces and their positions, from the Bohemian frontier on their south as far northwards as the Elbe. My duty was to ascertain, by all possible means, every movement and change of position, and to report continually to head-quarters. It required much activity and promptness in the use of the various means placed at my disposal to acquire information, and great care to sift and verify that which I succeeded in arriving at. I travelled a great deal in the course of this mission, and remained some time both in Altwasser, near Waldenburg, and also at Schmiedeberg. After some experience the work became exceedingly interesting, and during the whole war I was never engaged so fully to my self-satisfaction. My sense of the small amount of service which I was able to render in the field will, perhaps, incline the reader to be patient while I congratulate myself on this one occasion. The occupation of Löhn was a strong reason with Blücher to determine on breaking the as yet unexpired truce; and I may venture to believe, that my commu-

nication on the fact conduced to the adoption of that measure, which proved so important for the success of the campaign.

I received orders to join Gen. Pahlen, who commanded the advanced guard under St. Priest, and to continue my communications as before. It was expected that the enemy would advance upon Schmiedeberg, and in order to be near the General, I took up my quarters at Ober-Schmiedeberg. The town stretches itself, like most in mountainous districts, to a great length; so that, at first sight of the handsome buildings which present themselves on the road from Hirschberg, the traveller expects to find a place of much importance. Farther on, however, as the valley narrows, it loses all pretensions to be more than a poor village of the hill country. I remained for the night in an old, dark, and long uninhabited country house; the spacious suites of gloomy, neglected apartments had a ghost-like appearance, and I and my servant were the only occupants of the dismal mansion. When I rose the next morning in order to seek for Gen. Pahlen, I learnt that our troops were again ordered to advance, and I rode eagerly towards Hirschberg, curious to witness the first meeting of the Russians with the enemy.

In Hirschberg, however, I obtained no information of the progress of the troops; but advices reached me from headquarters stating that Gen. Pahlen had been sent on other service, and I was ordered to join his successor, Gen. Bistram. I proceeded, therefore, towards Greifenberg.

As I approached Greifenberg I heard a sharp firing of small arms and a few heavy guns. Gen. Freissinet was endeavouring to defend the town, in order to cover his retreat; the position of the place was favourable to him. The river runs close to the town, and the houses rise one above the other to some distance up the bank. A cross fire, very harassing to the Russians, was opened upon the bridge. I had no clear idea of such a fierce attack, and thinking to find the General in the midst of the fight, I rode to the bridge, and found myself in the midst of the fire. I there learnt that he was at a village at some distance, and of course, retired to seek him, but not till I was convinced that the enemy would be able to maintain the town at least till late in the night.

I must be permitted here to introduce to the reader a personag

who may be thought hardly worthy of a page in the history of the war, though, in the sketches of my personal adventures, he ought not to be silently passed over. This was my servant, a youth of about sixteen, whom his mother had confided to my care, trusting that I would protect him from the worst dangers of the war. I had lost sight of him during the retreat, and he did not rejoin me till the middle of the truce, by which time I had felt very uneasy on his account. I was attached to the lad, though he had shown no very soldier-like qualifications, and it was plain that he had preferred to remain behind while his master had had to struggle both against the enemy and his own sensations. He had passed his time with other servants in the rear, and it seemed that they had fed their imaginations with marvellous stories of the deeds which graced the front, and had become, at length, inspired to emulate their masters, every one of whom was more or less a hero in their eyes. As he, at length, rode after me upon the bridge of Greifenberg, and heard the balls for the first time whistling around him, his exultation was extreme. He reproached me for leaving the bridge—"This is as we ought to be; why not stay?" The meek boy was suddenly transformed into a warrior. On one other occasion I also observed his usual disposition suddenly reversed by circumstances. When I was gathering intelligence in the Lausitz, we arrived, after a lonely ride, at a country house which had only just been quitted by the enemy; the inhabitants had deserted it before. The doors and gates were all wide open, windows were broken in, and the court in ruins; inside the house, shutters were torn from the windows, the mirrors cracked, the carpets in shreds, lying with the remains of broken furniture in wild confusion. My poor servant was usually not only gentle and obedient, but honest, and for his age remarkably careful of the property of others. The traces of plunder, and the sight of so much destruction, seemed, however, to revolutionize his character in an instant. His eyes gloated with desire on the wreck of valuables as he rushed from room to room, seeking for some treasure which might have escaped the spoilers' notice. But the plunderer's penetration had been sharp; the lad sought long without success, while I looked at him in silent astonishment at the sad but rapid change. I at length spoke some admonitory words, and having

reawakened his slumbering integrity, and obtained a promise to resist future temptations of the sort, I allowed him to retain a pair of leather gloves for the winter's use. A suddenly heated imagination, on such occasions, aids to throw the sense of rectitude off the balance: at other times my poor lad's fancy was as tame as any uncultivated peasant's could be, but I doubt not that visions of rich treasures buried under ruins, or purses of gold forgotten by the flying inhabitants, rose in irresistible power to tempt him from his usual habits. In the war of liberation much care was taken to prevent plunder; it was, however, never wholly repressed. This may be attributed to the hasty organization of the army, which precluded all sufficient training or strict discipline. The nightly bivouac, in the absence of tents, also hardened the feelings of the men. An encampment admits of some of the regulations of a social condition, while the bivouac fire encourages the licence of a brigand.

I found General Bistram; he was a well-educated Livonian, who, when he had received my credentials, treated me very courteously. He gave me an account of the engagement at Katzbach, which increased my regret at having been absent from our headquarters at the time, since the attack differed materially from those which I had witnessed. It was undertaken in a tremendous storm of rain in the midst of a stream from the overflow of the river. As the muskets would not go off, the ancient feats of personal prowess seemed called again into action; bayonets converted muskets into lances, and the engagement became individual, in which the bodily strength of our men had a decided advantage. Friends and foes were mixed in fearful entanglement, but the enemies were pressed into the stream, and the success was complete, the general of division Puthod being finally cut off from the main body. By this affair and by the battle at Gross-Beeren our campaign was re-opened under circumstances highly animating to the troops. The army moved forward, pursuing the enemy through the Lausitz towards Dresden; they made a retrograde movement after the unfortunate engagement near Dresden, but when that temporary reverse was so brilliantly recovered at Culm they again pressed forward. When we were posted near Seidenberg on the second advance I thought it desirable to attach myself to the Cossacks, and at my request two hundred were

placed at my disposal, and an officer who knew German was appointed as interpreter; he commanded the troop, I only decided on the destination. On the first appearance of the Cossacks they were regarded as objects of terror, but they were not on the whole very dangerous enemies, and they often individually displayed much gentle good nature. We always approached the enemy very cautiously, and I sometimes slept at one extremity of a straggling village whilst the enemy occupied the other; I reposed on the instinctive sagacity of my escort. Sometimes when we mustered to proceed after a night so passed we found prisoners amongst us, though I could not tell how they had been captured.

One reconnoitre which I made with the Cossacks remains fresh on my memory. The enemy had retired behind the Neisse and had taken possession of Görlitz. I rode along the side of the river on some heights which ran parallel with the banks, and from whence I had a clear view of the French position. The inhabitants had learned during the truce to know the different corps and distinguish the officers, so that I obtained some valuable information from them. As I rode on I perceived on the opposite side a gay summer encampment; it was a number of fanciful arbours formed into regular streets; some of the bowers had vestibules or porches decorated with wreaths or twined with flowers; they were not yet faded, and their appearance was most lively. Some of these flowery tents were larger and stood apart from the rest, and as I afterwards entered them I found they were divided into chambers, and had plainly been the summer-houses of the commanding officers; they were surrounded by little gardens divided into beds, and many a pretty flower was still in its perfection of bloom; so that though deserted there was no trace of decay or confusion. It was impossible not to admire the lighthearted people who thought it worth while to embellish the scene of their brief rest in the midst of a hard and uncertain life.

After a time General Bistram was ordered on other duty, and General B—— commanded the advanced post, with which I remained. I was much struck with the great number of general officers among the Russians, whereas there were but few officers

of distinction in the Prussian army. Langeron was the commander-in-chief of the left wing of the Silesian army, and St. Priest commanded the advanced guard under him. The small corps to which I was attached consisted only of about a thousand men. I was often at St. Priest's table, and there was a much larger assemblage of generals than at Blücher's head-quarters.

The number of orders and high-sounding titles were not less remarkable than the excellence of the table. Blücher's was very frugal, or only well supplied when we remained in larger towns, but the Russian owed his luxuries both to the care of the officers and to the singular adroitness of the Cossacks; their talent for foraging exceeded that of the Prussians. At General B.'s I was sure to find choice fish and game.

I once proceeded with my troop after a reconnoitring expedition to Radmeritz, where St. Priest was quartered. There is a convent there for young ladies of noble families. It was nearly evening when I arrived, and as I went to seek the General I observed a number of officers in full uniform stepping from stone to stone up the dirty road which led to the castle. I found that the General gave a ball, as it was the custom to do on every possible occasion, both with the French and Russians, little regard being had to the small amount of pleasure which the poor ladies might be able to take in the festivity. My interview was scarcely over with the General when Blücher appeared in Radmeritz and took up his quarters in the convent. It was a great joy to me to see him again, to be once more among my friends, and learn their adventures since we parted. The ball went on, and I had to be an actor in a provoking scene: a folding-door opened, and the venerable old abbess followed by some of the young ladies who did not dance appeared in procession, and advanced straight up to me; the abbess greeted me with an address which threw me into the greatest confusion. Blücher was present, and as much astonished as I was at the demonstration. A young man then advanced, whom I did not know in the least, and introduced himself as Count von Löbau, known as a poet under the name of Isidorus Orientalis, a disciple of the new school, especially of Novalis. He was son of the abbess, and during these critical times he was living in the convent as guide and protector to the ladies. He had thought it his duty to cele-

brate the arrival of a brother philosopher and poet under such unusual circumstances; and for that purpose had got up the ceremony, not troubling himself about the figure which I might cut in the eyes of my military friends. Blücher looked displeased—the other officers amazed; but they were civil to the ladies, and wished me joy on the honours heaped upon me, which were the least comfortable that any man ever enjoyed. I had to bear them all, as well as an abundance of ridicule.

Having received orders to rejoin Blücher's head-quarters, which were again at Bautzen, I proceeded thither and found the place almost as tranquil as in times of peace. The comparatively small number of troops were bivouacked in the outskirts, and the usual business of the inhabitants was little interfered with. My feelings on entering the town, now quietly in our possession, were very different from those with which I had gazed on its towers from the Krickwitz heights on those two days of fierce contention. I remember as I passed along the streets that I envied every neatly-dressed civilian whom I met; his position was properly my own, and I was in disguise in my irksome uniform. Three Silesian militiamen were now placed at my orders, and remained with me till our approach to Paris; they were to act as couriers when I should be distant from head-quarters. They were willing, but not very efficient; the Cossacks were far more useful, and understood the slightest sign better than the Silesians did the clearest orders.

During our stay in Bautzen important negotiations were in progress between the Silesian and the main armies. I almost always dined with Gneisenau, together with many officers of the staff. One day he was in great spirits; the conversation turned on the victories we had already won at Dennewitz, Jüterbogk, and Culm; at length Gneisenau said, with the most confident air, "Gentlemen, we shall taste this year's grapes on the Rhine; do not mistake me, I mean the last grapes which, in November, will yet be hanging on the vines." I guessed that this decided belief must spring from some great intended enterprise, of the success of which he felt assured. Yet Napoleon was still mighty: he ruled not only over France, but great part of Germany, Italy,

Belgium, and the Netherlands; and though his fortunes seemed critical in Spain, his resources were enormous. Gneisenau's positive prediction was therefore startling.

Blücher's army crossed the Elbe above Wittenberg: it was early in a fresh, clear October morning. For many hours the infantry kept continually passing in close and rapid order along the floating-bridge, then the cavalry crossed over, slower and more carefully. The arms glanced in the sunbeams, and old legends sprang up in my memory, while first the reflection of their bright weapons, and then host after host, was seen coming from afar, till every hill blazed with glittering life. The enemy were hidden behind the great wood of oaks which borders on the river; a few cannon-balls reached the Elbe, and some which struck the surface of the water rebounded and sprang in wide arches upwards. The whole was a most lively spectacle: we feasted long upon it, for Blücher and his staff did not cross the river till a considerable part of the army had reached the opposite shore. The enemy, divided from us as they were by the wood, had misdirected their fire, and as long as I stayed to witness the passage not a shot reached the bridge. As the troops landed, they disappeared again behind the wood. Our headquarters remained some little time in the wood, but Blücher soon disappeared with some of his adjutants, and I and others were ordered to remain there and wait for him. I was with my friend Von Raumer, who had joined the army during the truce, and whom I had met with much joy in Bautzen; we were now near to his native town, and we knew that a great battle was being fought. I am able to give but little account of it. We heard the heavy firing, and the cannon-balls broke great branches from the trees, which crackled and fell all round us; but of the fight we could distinguish nothing. Now and then indistinct rumours of the fate of the battle reached us, and we heard in particular how bravely the Silesian militia had stormed the heights which surround the castle of Wartenburg. At last we received orders to advance, and we reached Blücher just as the victory was won and the enemy retiring; only a few skirmishes with General Bertrand's flying corps were still kept up. Blücher

took possession of the Castle. We were shown, with a number of officers of the staff, into a great hall, where the walls and floor were torn and injured by the cannon-balls: one ball had been reflected from the floor, and had passed quite through the wall. Preparations were made for a feast of rejoicing, and we all assembled. The day had been a glorious one, but as yet we could hardly reckon the results. The Crown Prince of Sweden had now to cross the Elbe with his troops; the great body must advance strenuously and take up a concentrated position, so as to challenge the enemy in every direction, and compel him to a decisive engagement. Now I perceived what had so inspired Gneisenau at Bautzen. The movement from Bautzen to Wartenburg had been so accomplished as to deceive the enemy. Divisions had approached the river at various parts, making demonstrations of attempts to cross at all of them, while the plan had been laid for a sudden passage and an immediate attack by surprise on General Bertrand's force. It was General v. York's corps which gained this victory: his resolute conduct decided the event of the day, and won the honourable appellation which is now borne by his family.

Our repast was truly joyous; but some sad and solemn feelings clouded our happiness before we parted: they reverted to the memory of Scharnhorst. Blücher spoke; and I never listened to words so eloquent as he used when he painted in glowing tints the character and services of the hero. The almost involuntary rush of language was the outpouring of poetry itself. At the conclusion he called to him the son of the great departed, who, though used to conceal his feelings under a calm exterior, could scarcely support his emotions as he stood before the aged leader and orator.

After the battle of Wartenburg we were in Düben. Gneisenau ordered me to proceed through Dessau to Halle; he thought correctly that I might gather some useful information in a district which was so well known to me. Dessau was full of Russians, who crowded the streets and squares. The father of my friend Von Raumer informed me minutely of the enemy's movements; no one could be better able to do it than he. The old notorious Duke of Dessau was no tender master. He had so tyrannized over the proprietors of the land, that he had compelled

them one after another to sell to him their properties, so that his dukedom had extended to a considerable territory. The elder Von Raumer was his agent, and conducted all his affairs.

I went to Giedichtenstein, and surprised my father-in-law not a little by my appearance. He was very uneasy, as the enemy had only lately left the village, and were still near, while no troops of ours were in sight. I calmed him by the assurance that I should soon be followed by the Russians.

My sensations may be imagined on entering Halle under such circumstances. Blanc was no longer there, but I learnt that he had escaped from prison, and had joined the army as chaplain. The town, which had been the scene of my brightest and most hopeful days, and in which I had since passed four sad years of danger and wretchedness, I now saw once more, while my actual condition was a strange contrast to that of either period. The town had suffered much, and was in great excitement. It was known how the main army advanced and concentrated itself; how the enemy drew all his forces towards Leipzig, and that a great battle might be expected.

I was but one day alone in Halle before Blücher took up his head-quarters there. Gneisenau occupied my old dwelling, and it seemed strange to see him in that former retreat of household joys and cares.

Napoleon moved with a part of his army as if he intended to threaten Berlin, believing that he should be able to disarrange our plans, and compel us to break up our concentrated position. Had he carried out his views, Berlin would have been given up to him. But the strong mind of Germany, which now ruled in our army, was too bold and wise to be deceived. We foresaw that, if our combined forces stood firm, he must abandon his design; he could not spare a portion of his army from the coming struggle, on which his future—his very existence might be staked. A few detachments, therefore, only watched his march, which he soon discontinued. The great day thus approached which was to seal the fate of Germany.

CHAPTER XI.

BATTLE OF LEIPZIG.

Mission to Bernadotte—Appeal to the Swedes—Engagement at Möckern—Crossing the Field after a Battle—Bivouac—Scene at Möckern—Morning of the Battle of Leipzig—Sight of the French Army—Battle of Leipzig—Saxon Troops come over to Blücher—General Langeron—Storming of Schönfeld—Advance into Leipzig—General Wassiltchikof—Death of a Countryman—Lützen—Cossack Warfare—Wiessenfels—Passage of the Saale—Horrors of a Flight—Freyberg—Napoleon's Despair—Castle of Count Werther Buechlingen—Mistake—Wounded Fugitives—Intercepted Letters and Military Decorations—Giessen—My Address to the Inhabitants.

1813.

EARLY in the morning of the 16th of October I found myself at head-quarters near the village of Lindenthal. The day was bright and mild: it is remarkable that every engagement in which I have been present has taken place in the finest weather. Behind us lay a wood, before us an extensive plain. The enemy were posted towards Möckern, on which point we were advancing. The battle began and we were already under a hot fire when Gneisenau despatched me to seek out the Crown Prince of Sweden, who held himself in the rear somewhere near Halle, and entreat him to advance without delay with his Swedes. I had much trouble in finding him, no one knew his exact position, and it was not till night that I made him out at Landsberg in miserable quarters surrounded by Swedish officers. He lay on a mattress spread on the floor of a desolate, nearly empty room; the dark Gascon face, with the prominent nose and the retiring chin, was sharply relieved against the white bed-clothes and the laced nightcap. Gneisenau had explained to me fully the positions of both armies, and how the enemy, consisting of the choicest troops and the Imperial Guard, headed by Napoleon in person, were pressed back by us on Möckern, where the chief contest would take place. The Crown Prince listened atten-

tively whilst I explained all this in my own language and his adjutant translated it to him. He then sat up in bed and made a very long speech, which concluded with a promise to march directly with his troops, and he dismissed me. Only half of Gneisenau's commission, however, was fulfilled. I had orders to mix among the Swedish soldiers, for he reckoned on my being able to make some impression on them through my native language. An opinion prevailed at head-quarters that the Crown Prince had no great liking to take part in a battle which threatened a signal overthrow to his own countrymen, and Gneisenau thought that I might rouse the ardour of the troops. I was to remind them of their great King Gustavus Adolphus, and of his glorious battle of Leipzig, and to urge that on the same field the fate of Germany was now to be decided, under our generals as it had been then under their great hero. I held all possible converse during the night with both men and officers, when I found that the order to march had preceded me. Many were already moving off, but some officers remained indolently looking on when all was ready waiting for further orders. Talking with these I perceived that the war had no national interest for the Swedes; they could not see why they should be pressed into a struggle in which they were quite unconcerned, their country not being in danger; the sacrifice was too hard upon the poor Swedes; besides, the small force they could produce would be lost among the mass of nations now armed against Napoleon. I tried to persuade them that the renown of their leader would influence and strengthen the whole allied army. I cannot praise myself for this part of my argument; I spoke it against my own conviction; my German feelings gave the proud lie to this acknowledgment of superiority in a Frenchman; indeed we always held that the victory at Dennewitz was due alone to General Bülow. Nor had I much to boast of in the way of impression made upon the Swedes; the elements of heroism were not in them, and my declamations on the scene of the approaching battle, and the great deeds there performed by their Gustavus Adolphus, did not help the cause much, for it had of late become rather the fashion in Sweden to disparage the merits of that hero.

Towards noon, however, the Swedish troops were all on the

march, and as I learned that this was to be a day of rest I gave my exhausted horse some refreshment. It was dusk when I perceived the Prussian troops on a height near Möckern. I learnt then the issue of the engagement, which had been the fiercest of the whole campaign. It was usual with Gen. v. York to be irrelative before he determined on an attack—once resolved, he ventured everything. The struggle before Möckern had been with Napoleon himself and his finest troops; he had offered battle; the victory was long doubtful; all the first engaged fell; new troops were continually brought up, and the final triumph was won by the reserve corps.

I found a party of the small remnant of Von York's division in a state of great depression. Evening prayers were being read—glorious as had been the victory, the dreadful loss filled every heart with sadness. It was there that, face to face with Napoleon, the Prussians had thirsted to redeem the shame of former times, and had rushed madly on the enemy. The account of the battle of Möckern as given from head-quarters was singularly short; it was contained in a few lines, and the heroism displayed, and the important consequences which promised to result from it, were scarcely noticed. On the second day, between that and the great battle of Leipzig, an attack of cavalry took place under General Wassiltschikof, which was duly praised. It was plainly intended to pass slightly over the Prussian exploits and to bring forward those of the allied Russians as much as possible. I inquired the way to Blücher's head-quarters, and rode towards it in the dusk over the fields; after a few steps my horse reared, I could not tell why; my servant alighted and found a corpse in the way. I had to cross the field of battle, and could scarcely get on, the bodies lay so thick; my horse, obliged to face it, left off shying after a time, and I only perceived that I was passing one of the slain by his quietly turning out of the way. I saw bivouac-fires before me, but in the oppression of the scene I had forgotten my direction, and I doubted whether they belonged to our own troops or the enemy's—still I rode towards the fires; living men, whether friends or foes, were welcome. I reached a wide road and recognised the Russians. Naked men appeared by the bivouac-fires, who looked like giants against the brilliant light: they were engaged in a curious process of

purification—they had taken off their shirts to pass them rapidly over the flames. I approached one to inquire where I should find Blücher; he did not understand, but, cheered by the sound of voices, I rode on. I had passed the Russian fires and had been called to by a guard whom I answered without taking much notice, when I heard a voice behind me, and understood the question "Where are you going?" I turned round and learnt that in a few more steps I should have heard the "qui vive?" It was late at night, our horses were quite tired out, myself the same; so I thankfully accepted the invitation of a Russian artillery officer to pass the night in his company. The party were gathered round a gun. Hunger made a slight meal very acceptable, and though we heard skirmishings at the outposts we fell quietly to sleep.

At early dawn we received a morning salutation from the enemy in the form of some cannon-balls, which flew in high arches over our heads. The terrors of the evening, with the wild dreams of the night, vanished before the coming day, and the remembrance of the great stake which that day was to decide met me in all its power. Soldiers stretched at length round the fires were lying all round me, and as I proceeded I found them collecting more and more into groups, preparing for the expected battle.

Blücher's head-quarters were in the village of Möckern; all were yet sleeping when I got there. It would convey a false idea of the scene in Blücher's vicinity were it to be supposed that anything like haste or confusion was to be perceived there. Though so great a battle was certain to be fought—though all felt that on its issue the fate of the whole war depended, there was yet no trace of any such important crisis near the great commander. Every officer rose and dressed himself leisurely and carefully; the few washing utensils at command were taken to the wells, and when used by some were instantly claimed by the servants of others to be replenished. The windows were opened and laid back on the walls, to serve for looking-glasses. Coffee was brought in; some drank from the cups and some from the saucers. Any little difficulty or accident was seized on to give a cheerful turn to the remarks, but these were never extended to the great event which was impending; they spoke on indifferent subjects,

even of gay recollections, and a joke was seized on and passed round with thankful eagerness; to a superficial observer they might have seemed like men who were preparing to pursue a journey, and were amusing themselves with the little miseries of an uncomfortable night's lodging.

On that day we did not move out very early. Blücher had joined himself to General Langeron's division, and we found these preparing to pass the Parthe. On the other side of that river the ground rises; there a wonderful spectacle presented itself.

Over the long distant line of rising ground we beheld the French army in movement, and it soon covered the whole range of hills. It was the multitude bound to the man who had subdued the continent and ruled it so long by the terror of his name, now led by him to battle. The columns continued to emerge from the eastern horizon; infantry, cavalry, and artillery glided along in order, and now and then the arms glanced in the newly-risen sunbeams. The whole army seemed like a mighty vision in a dream; fresh hosts continued to rise in the east; still they continued to vanish from our sight far to the west, as the great unbroken mass moved on and on. We stood long in breathless amazement; then it was that Müffling gave the name to the approaching fight—he called it the great “Nation's battle” (*Völkerschlacht*): the name now belongs to history. We were posted on a plain many miles in extent; troops were round us in every direction. General von York was fighting before Leipzig with the remains of his valiant corps. All around we heard the roar of fierce engagement, but we saw nothing, and remained there stationary the greater part of the day; while adjutants, who were constantly sent to the different corps, brought us back, every few minutes, reports of the progress of the fight from every point. More than 300,000 men were brought by the allies into the field; 170,000 fought against us. Our ground, as I have said, was a large open plain. Leipzig lay just before us in the distance. It was a strange day to me, passed in such perfect rest in the very centre of a great battle; but the hours flew rapidly; the constant arrival of news kept us in such intense excitement. We heard that at Möckern the enemy had attacked Blücher's division, considering it justly as the centre point of the great moral strength of our whole army. Napoleon himself led on the attack;

he believed that any advantage gained over the most renowned of his enemies would help to subdue the spirits of the whole host. He then brought a half-dispirited army to meet an immensely superior force, yet his great mind had still power to animate his troops ; he knew the greatness of the stake. His soldiers fought as daringly as if sure of victory. I must pay the homage of admiration to a hero who made his effort for existence with such daring courage.

This battle also was fought under a brilliant sky. One of the scenes of that eventful day was striking. We discerned a large body of cavalry advance from the enemy's lines in perfect order. There were no troops immediately near the point they advanced upon, and we waited quietly for their coming up ; no doubt Blücher was advised of their intentions. They proved to be the Saxon cavalry, who had left the enemy and come over to us. They stood looking resolved, but, as I thought, humbled before us. The commander came forward and approached Blücher, who received him with dignity. The Saxon officer stated that they had long waited for the moment when they might free themselves from the compulsion of bearing arms against their countrymen ; it had come at length. Yet they craved one indulgence : they wished *not* to fight in that battle. Their unhappy king was in Leipzig, in a house in the great market-place, which would soon be in our power. Blücher addressed them shortly, but very kindly, granted their request, and appointed them a position behind the army. I felt for them as they marched by ; I imagined all the distress of their position. But all the events of that day, from the first, when the great host passed before my wondering sight, up to that last scene, seemed like a splendid act in a Shaksperian drama, suddenly grown into a living truth.

Till now I had taken no part in the active duties of the day. Blücher, having despatched all the rest of his staff, turned to me at last. "Mr. Professor," he said, "go instantly to General Langeron, take him orders to storm that village ; he must expect no help by reinforcement, but the enemy must be dislodged immediately." I hastened off ; there was no doubt of the direction I was to take. Langeron had been long disputing Schönfeld ; he had been several times in possession of it, and the enemy had retaken it as often, and the flames of the burning

village showed me the way. I found him amongst the outermost houses, he was a stern-looking man with a commanding person. The enemy was again master of the greater part of the place; surrounded by fires the Russians were still fighting obstinately; it was a strange exciting scene, friend and foe in fierce contest, lighted up by the raging flames. I delivered my orders; the General answered despondingly, "My men have fought for many hours, their numbers are thinned, they are tired and exhausted; I cannot withstand the enemy without support." I was compelled to tell him that he must expect no aid, and that the orders to take the place were peremptory; he reflected for one moment, and then gave the word of command for storming. Every man who was not at that moment actually engaged sprang forward from all sides instantly; the storming party rushed onwards with a loud cry; the enemy could not stand against it, and, the fortune of the day turning everywhere against them, they abandoned the village to the conquerors. I took part with the General in this attack, and when the village was in our power and the enemy in full retreat I hastened back with the news to Blücher. At last I had been engaged—I had been a real sharer in the dangers of the day—but my duty had been so circumscribed, the moment of attack was so exciting, the struggle so short and decisive, that I had not been conscious of the danger till it was past. When I returned with the report to Blücher, he was already fully aware of the result; he had known it, in fact, sooner than Langeron himself, since from a distance he had been able earlier to distinguish the retreating movement of the enemy.

I was again at our central position, at that point of rest where we had remained throughout the day. Accounts now came in thicker of the general and glorious result of the contest. Evening was coming on, and we left our post and advanced slowly towards Leipzig; suddenly a loud cry, as from thousands of voices, resounded in the air; news came that our troops were pressing into the suburbs, and that the enemy were still defending themselves desperately in the streets and gardens. We galloped forward and were soon up with our fighting troops.

I received orders to join General Wassilschikof, who was appointed, with his cavalry, to pursue the flying enemy. I left

the horrible distraction of the general fight and slaughter in the suburbs, and rode, as directed, to Skeuditz. I found that place full of Russian troops which had taken part in the day's conflict, and I was deafened, by certain German-speaking Russian officers, with histories of particular feats and combats. I was told there that a young Dane had fallen fighting valiantly, and learned with surprise and sorrow that his name was Oersted; he was the third and youngest brother of my celebrated countryman. I could not doubt that it was my friend, though I little expected to hear of him among the Russian army. His death was sad news to me. It was a strange transition in my feelings, strained as they had been to the highest pitch by national events of overwhelming interest, and thus suddenly thrown back into the closer and dearer circle of private sympathy; thoughts sprang quickly up of quiet days gone by, of rest, and home, and friendship, all in painful contrast with the turmoil of the scene around me.

We received news of the flight of the enemy. Wassilschikof moved on early next morning from Skeuditz towards Markranstadt, and passed the night between the 19th and 20th in the neighbourhood of Lützen; between that place and Weissenfels we came up with the last of the retiring army, and were then for the first time aware of the almost inconceivable results of the victory of Leipzig. I there witnessed what quite consoled me for having been obliged to join the Russians,—the extraordinary effectiveness of the Cossacks in harassing the rear of a flying army. The road to Weissenfels lies over a wide plain; we saw the last of the French troops before us; though in hasty flight, they kept tolerably good order; it was rather a misty morning, and there was nothing to be seen between us and the retreating enemy; all at once we perceived Cossacks in every direction, singly, or by twos or threes: in an instant they were joined into a troop, in another they were down upon the enemy: these consisted of the tired and weary who were not able to keep up with the rest; the Cossacks rushed in between them and the main body, and they were instantaneously surrounded and cut off from it; the rear-guard paused a moment—turned, formed front without advancing, and began a rather brisk fire; but the distance was too great for it to reach us. The Cossacks and their prisoners had disappeared, as if by

magic ; only here and there we could distinguish a single Cossack keeping watch upon the enemy. The retreating guard dared not linger for another fire ; they turned their backs on us again and proceeded. This scene was often repeated—the sudden appearance of the Cossacks ; the cutting off the lingering troops ; the guard provoked to defend them, finding by the time they had faced us no object to receive their fire—was acted over and over again ; and in the short distance between Lützen and Weissenfels General Wassilschikof took in this way two thousand prisoners, without any real skirmish taking place.

The fugitives hurried forward, and when we reached the suburbs of Weissenfels we found the town occupied by the French : we saw them in the act of passing the Saale by a bridge of boats. Blücher and his staff appeared at this moment ; I joined him, and we mounted the heights behind the town, which run parallel with the river. The enemy had just time to withdraw their floating-bridge, and they drew up on the other side of the river opposite to us.

We gave them a heavy cannonade from our heights. The mist cleared off : the bridge of boats which was constructed on our side soon reached across the stream, and the enemy, who then took to flight in great disorder, could not hinder our troops from landing. This was not the only affair during the pursuit : they were constantly attacked, and fled faster and faster ; and, as we followed them from Weissenfels to Freiburg, we witnessed fearful traces of the general consternation. I shall never forget the sight : weapons thrown away to lighten their speed—guns, ammunition-waggons, carriages of all descriptions, even some handsome travelling equipages—plainly abandoned because the tired horses could no longer draw them—remained in close confusion, not only on the road, but in the fields, as far as the eye could reach in the direction of the flight. The way was often quite impassable, and we had to make considerable circuits to get on. The enemy themselves had entirely disappeared, at least I saw not one.

When we reached Freiburg we learnt that Napoleon had remained there some hours : it was said that he had been seen at a window, his head resting on his arm in silent despair : Berthier sat opposite to him in a similar state ; neither spoke, and officers who entered were silently ordered, by a wave of the hand, to

leave the room. The inhabitants were full of anecdotes to prove the desponding state of the flying foe.

We paused but a short time in Freiburg: exhausted by the pursuit, we ascended wearily some considerable heights beyond the town, and in the evening reached the castle of Count Werther Benchlingen. The Count was absent, but the Countess received Blücher, and made hospitable arrangements for us all. I had retired to the room assigned to me, to make my appearance as fit as my scanty means permitted for a lady's presence, and on my return found Blücher in great indignation. A pamphlet had been found in the castle, written by Professor Crome of Giessen: the title, if I remember right, was 'Germany's Rescue through the Battle of Lützen;' and it spoke of the battle as a signal victory for Napoleon, which rendered all further resistance impossible, either from Prussians or Russians. It is very likely that the bulletins did so misrepresent the affair, but the German professor, however, had dilated on the happy prospects of his country, and stated that all impediments to the full development of the conqueror's wise designs were at last removed. I did not read it through, but it may be conceived how calculated it was to excite the anger of Blücher and his companions. They proceeded to infer the disposition of their hostess from the writing found in her house, and while they were giving vent to their displeasure she presented herself in the midst—a graceful, noble-looking woman, still in the prime of life. Blücher greeted her courteously but coldly, and when she perceived me she approached and spoke to me as an old acquaintance. I recognised in her one of two sisters of a distinguished family of Gotha; they had been much at the court at Weimar, were highly cultivated women, and had been welcomed in Goethe's circle. I was surprised to see her as our hostess, and perplexed and distressed by the unpleasant suspicions which were entertained against her sentiments. At length she left us, and Blücher ceased to restrain his anger; the remembrance of the absurd scene with the abbess at Radmeritz came over him, and, half in joke and half in scorn, he said, "You seem to be everywhere in favour with the ladies—so this patriotic dame is also a friend of yours." I tried to convince him that the fact of a book being found in her house did not prove that she participated in the sentiments it contained. Blücher held to his opinion, but when the lady was

present he did not forget the courtesy due to a gentlewoman and his hostess. I spoke again to her before we left the castle, and told her of the misunderstanding which the discovery of the book had caused: she laughed, and said there were strange mistakes in times like those; the work had attracted notice by its audacity, but in Gotha and Weimar there was no fear that such sentiments should be entertained.

Under the idea that Napoleon would try to maintain a position, if only for a short time, at Erfurt, Blücher abandoned the immediate pursuit in order to cross over by Langensalza towards Eisenach, and so intercept him. This proved a mistake. Napoleon's loss at Leipzig had been so great, that he could not feel safe till he reached the other side of the Rhine. We made continual marches, tedious from their uniformity: that part of the route between Eisenach and Fulda was remarkable as displaying frightful traces of the defeat which the enemy had suffered. The rapidity of their flight had completely exhausted the greater part of the army: we saw at first single Frenchmen lying among the bushes; as we proceeded the number of the exhausted, dying sufferers increased, and we found large groups of dead and dying; it was painful to me to observe that they looked upon it as a greater evil to be discovered by us, though we offered them assistance, than to be left to perish with hunger and exhaustion amongst the underwood. I confess I wished myself away from the horrid scene, it was more terrible to me than the violence of the fiercest battle.

Many letters fell into our hands of french correspondence, as well as some from Germans to the French; they sometimes furnished us with useful intelligence, but oftener related to private histories. Not a few tales of scandal came thus to light; and we read the tender sorrows of German ladies whose french lovers were compelled to depart to meet the dangers of the war: I felt ashamed at the way these disgraceful liaisons were paraded for the general amusement. Another booty fell into our hands which entertained us—a great number of Westphalian orders, which had been sent to decorate the brave victors in expected fields of glory. The conquerors had vanished, and the symbols of their triumphs fell to our share; as for the kingdom of Westphalia, we regarded it as a ghost which was already laid.

We passed one night at the residence of a prince who was supposed to be in the French interest. Our host had the bad taste to appear before Blücher wearing a Westphalian order, so we in return wore our captured medals, not at the button-hole, but at our watch-chains.

From Fulda we marched over the waste and wretched district of the Vogelgebirge, where, besides every kind of inconvenience, we had to strive with hunger; it was a happy sight to behold ourselves in the smiling neighbourhood of Giessen, where we refreshed ourselves a day or two.

At Giessen, Blücher found that Professor Crome, the author of the pamphlet before alluded to, had fled on the approach of his troops; he ordered me to inform the senate of the University that the professor might return unmolested. "It is indifferent to us," he said, "what such a scamp may think." I thought that the expression betrayed more annoyance than I could well account for from so great a man, especially when in the full tide of success.

I was requested to deliver an address in Giessen to animate the people in favour of the war. The enemy had many supporters in the southern districts, which bordered on their own territory, and it must be confessed that many oppressive abuses had been remedied under their government, and that their admirers boasted of these reforms. I remember indulging in a paradox in the course of my speech: "If their measures have been the wisest possible, if the hardships relieved by those measures have been in the extreme unbearable, it is now all the more your duty to fight against them to the death, and drive them from the land; for it is treason, it is the lowest depth of degradation, to accept a benefit from an enemy." What persuasion followed my oration I cannot say, as we shortly after quitted the place, but, as regards my own feelings, I do not boast of it; the paradox did not satisfy myself.

The news of General Wrede's great victory over Napoleon at Hanau reached us at Giessen. The southern states of Germany had joined us, and this further success laid the whole country open to us as far as the Rhine. After so many rapidly succeeding engagements, the necessity of reinforcing our strength was apparent, and another armistice was equally required by both armies.

CHAPTER XII.

Mission in Westphalia—Marburg—University Club—Popular Demonstration—Arnsberg—Militia arming in Dortmund—Absurd Scene—Düsseldorf—Justus Grüner—Count Nesselrode—Duke of Coburg: his views on the German Empire—Bolkenstern's Death—Orders to join the Army—Cologne—Bonn—Treves—General Dörnberg—Entering France—Thionville—Dangerous Defile—Commercy—Splendid Spectacle—Vitry—Insolence of the Inhabitants—Châlons—Rejoin Blücher's Head-quarters—Meeting with Raumer and Blane—Champaubert—Etoges—Reverses on the Marne—Retreat through Champaubert—Imminent Perils—Blücher's Excitement—Critical Charge—Retreat through the Forest of Etoges—Loss of Colonel Oppen—Sir Hudson Lowe—Halt in Châlons—Joined by Generals von Sacken and von York—Perils from the Champagne.

1814.

I RECEIVED an agreeable commission from Blücher, confided to me probably at Gneisenau's instigation. Westphalia was nearly without troops; ours had not been stationed there, and the small number of the French remaining in that country were in a critical position. The province had always been favourably disposed towards Prussia; and the enemy was nowhere more thoroughly hated; my duty was to win over and organize the inhabitants. I was instructed to raise the Prussian eagle in all the towns, and to name provisional governments.

My army, with which I was to conquer Westphalia, consisted of two men; my third follower had deserted. My servant composed my staff, and thus equipped I advanced towards a province which was still in possession of the enemy. It was late in the evening when I entered Marburg, and found there were no military in the place. I took up my quarters in an inn, and my arrival soon caused great excitement, as I was the first person who had come from the victorious army. My host, who received me with enthusiasm, informed me that the professors of the university were assembled at a place close by—it was their club evening. I hastened to join them, and was received with accla-

mations, while the idea that my voice was the first to announce the dawn of liberation filled me with emotion. I saw Tenneman for the first time: I did not, it is true, share his views on philosophy, but I honoured his powers of deep research, and his quiet joy at my arrival touched my feelings. Wachler also was there, and among those already known to me was Niemeyer's son, once my pupil at Halle. That our evening was not passed in discussing science may well be guessed. Recollections of the wretched years of bondage which they had suffered, stories of the incapacity of the paltry King, and of the grievances of his misgovernment, were the subjects of their conversation: they added assurances of the strong attachment of the people to their legitimate ruler, and the long-smothered flame of patriotism burst freely out. It was late when I was told that a large number of the inhabitants wished to wait upon me in my own quarters, and I left the meeting hastily to receive them. I heard a great commotion and perceived the sky illuminated by a torchlight procession; the crowd and clamour were immense as they approached the house. I felt instantly how unfitting it would be to receive the demonstration as a compliment to myself: I therefore asked for wine, and rushed among the people, who opened out a circle for me. I called out for silence, and it was wonderful how, first near, and then farther and farther off, the clamour ceased, till all was still from the spot where I stood in the blaze of torches to the distance which was lost in gloom. Then I raised my glass and cried, "To your old ruler, your faith to whom has won you the praise and love of all Germany: long live the Elector!" and I emptied the glass. The uproar was prodigious: I perceived that it arose from genuine feeling—complaints were mixed with cries of burning hatred against the enemy and of devotion to the rightful prince. I again called for silence, and I spoke this time full and freely; it was no constrained oration as at Giessen—I gave full utterance to the sentiments which inspired myself. I withdrew while the acclamations were deafening; deputations waited on me; the future should prove, they said, that my favourable opinion of their sincerity in the great cause was not misplaced. I heard afterwards that numbers, both citizens and students, joined the army: Niemeyer was among the volunteers.

I traversed the Hessian country, passed through Corbach and over the lovely hill-country, and reached Arnsberg. All there were glad to see the first Prussian officer, and shortly after my arrival there was a grand ceremony to welcome me, in which young ladies brought me garlands and presented me with verses; but I had to learn how little one should trust to the bright prospects of the hour. The important part I had to play had begun under these flattering auspices. I trusted that the enthusiasm would spread rapidly through all Westphalia. A proclamation was soon written, printed, and posted in the streets; all was going on charmingly, when news arrived of the approach of General Borstel and his division. Towards evening on the second day he entered, and I, the volunteer officer charged with important business, dwindled in an instant into my proper character of a very inefficient second-lieutenant.

For another month I was useful in a different way. When I had reported General Borstel's arrival, I received orders to remain, while the truce lasted, in Westphalia, and assist in organizing the militia: in the course of that duty I visited Dortmund.

In Dortmund I was also requested to address the inhabitants on the subject of the war; how I allowed myself to be persuaded to do it I cannot tell. The public feeling was as well-disposed as possible, the arming of the militia was proceeding rapidly, all the men were rushing to the war, and all the women were enthusiastic in the cause. I confess that I do not revert to the absurd scene which took place at my address without considerable shame.

I was first surprised by seeing a crowd of elegantly dressed ladies thronging into the gaily lighted hall; then I had to endure an address, in which I was held up as a subject of envy for being called to inflame the conquering army like another Tyrtaeus. I was not at ease when I spoke, yet I fell better into my subject than I had done at Giessen; my vexation, however, was complete at the conclusion. A number of fair young damsels approached, embraced me in succession, and tried by force to place a crown upon my brow. My philosophy could not resist the salutes, but the crowning was too much; the scene was like a bad frontispiece to some patriotic romance, and the thought of Blücher and his contempt of my Radmeritz honours finished to overwhelm me. It was not till I found myself alone in my room,

after a good supper, that I was sufficiently recovered to laugh heartily at the ludicrous performance.

The organization of the militia was soon so complete that I was able to proceed to Düsseldorf, where, by Blücher's orders, I was to act in concert with my friend Justus Grüner. Grüner had been seized by the Austrian government while residing in Bohemia, and had been imprisoned in a fortress in Hungary; his name and position had been carefully concealed, and, being very fair, many had supposed him to be the exiled King of Sweden. He was liberated when Austria joined us, and when our armies had cleared the country as far as the Rhine he was sent to Düsseldorf as Governor of the district; he occupied the palace which had been used by the French governor Beugnot, who held the appointment under Joachim, King of Naples: it was a splendid mansion, fitted up with Parisian elegance; a spacious and richly furnished suite of rooms was assigned to my use, and servants appointed to attend me. Grüner liked a good table, and had an excuse for indulging in his fancy, since persons of distinction were continually arriving, whom it was necessary to entertain. Thus I found a new and surprising phase of the ever-varying fortunes of war. I passed two delightful months in Düsseldorf.

Among the distinguished persons whom I met at Grüner's table was the present Duke of Coburg. I remember a conversation which I held with him one day after dinner, on the wish which then generally prevailed for a closer reunion of the German empire. I was surprised to hear him argue that it was desirable to suppress or merge the smaller States, through which the strength of the empire was broken up. Whether he thought his own dominions safe, or whether by his disinterested speech he meant to discover my private opinions, I cannot tell; I was quite decided against remodelling the empire according to the crotchet which filled people's heads at the time, which was to have a German constitutional monarchy, with a great metropolis like Paris or London; and I stated my objections. "My wish," said I, "to see Germany composed of so many separate States is not altogether disinterested, it affects men of science too nearly. The progress of free and individual intellectual development depends on such an arrangement now in Germany as it did in

former times in Greece; the contracted views which pervade all English and French literature are owing to the influence exercised in the capitals of those countries. At this moment I can instance a philosopher, who, restricted in the free dissemination of his peculiar views in one State, found ready protection in another. Fichte, banished from Jena, found a refuge and freedom in Prussia." The Duke laughed, and reminded me that he had taken part in suppressing Fichte's teaching. I answered that I was fully aware of the fact, neither was I presuming to censure the decree, but I could not resist so apt an illustration of my argument. On many other occasions I heard opinions from persons of high stations, which I always ventured to resist to the uttermost, since they involved principles which I thought opposed to the complete regeneration of Germany.

In the midst of active business, relating to the re-establishment of the University at Düsseldorf, I was, however, often reminded of the war and of my military duties. One event cast a shadow over that agreeable period; my late connection and regard for Bolkenstern will be remembered; he had won distinction in the late campaign, and commanded two battalions opposite Cologne. While I remained in Düsseldorf he came to that place to visit me, and great was my enjoyment of his society. A few days after he left me I received news of his death; he had heard of the passage of the army over the Rhine, and, fancying that the enemy were on the point of retiring everywhere, had crossed and attacked them, but with too small a force. General Sebastiani still kept possession of Cologne. Bolkenstern fought with some success on the bank close under the town, but the enemy brought so great a force to oppose him, that he saw no chance of rescuing his men but by a rapid retreat across the river; he was the last to leave the shore, and, all the boats having been filled, he dashed with his horse into the flood, meaning to swim over. A shot reached him, and the Rhine was his grave. A monument was erected to him on the Drachenfels.

At length I received orders to rejoin the army, and I left Düsseldorf with regret and passed through Coblenz, rode through the valley of the Moselle to Treves, and there found an order to wait for troops advancing towards the main body, it being forbidden to travel through the enemy's country alone or

in only small parties. I found General Dörnberg in a house on the road beyond Grevenmachern; his Hessian troops were investing the fortress of Luxemburg. General Count Haake appeared there shortly after my arrival with some regiments of cavalry which he was conducting to join Blücher, and I entered France in their company.

Our sensations were new and strange as we proceeded into the enemy's country; we felt for the first time thrown back wholly on our own resources, for every inhabitant was a foe determined to injure us how and when he could. I before remarked that the features of a fair landscape are not to be recognised in the time of battle; I now perceived that the face of a hostile land wears a mask to the invader—every house and thicket conceals a danger—every object has an ominous meaning, and this character it never loses.

The first fortress of importance which we had to pass was Thionville. Being in possession of the French, and strongly garrisoned, we had reason to expect that we should be attacked in passing by a superior force, and the nature of the country must render our defence extremely difficult. We arrived late in the evening at Maison Rouge, a place not far from Thionville, and, though we were greatly fatigued, we spent nearly all the night in reconnoitring and making arrangements for marching past the fortress.

I rode out silently with the General and some of his staff; we did not venture to approach near the fortress, and we perceived no troops, but all the intelligence we arrived at increased our fear that the enemy might issue by some defile of which we were ignorant, and come suddenly upon us.

At noon the following day we proceeded between vine-covered hills which rose abruptly on each side; the walls which divided the vineyards and the trees made the sides of the hills impassable for the horses, so that they could proceed only in lengthened file along the narrow pass. Great complaints were uttered, and with reason, that so considerable a body of cavalry should have been sent into a foreign country unaccompanied by infantry, which alone could have acted in such a situation; in fact, had the enemy appeared on the heights above us, we must have fallen helplessly into their power.

The scouts we had sent out brought news that troops were issuing from the fortress; the defile seemed endless, and our sensations were most unpleasant as we rode on slowly and with great difficulty, expecting every instant an attack from above, which we had no means whatever to withstand. At last, after some hours, the road began to ascend, but still we could only ride three abreast between the hills, and a weary anxious time passed before the long procession reached the plain above. I rode about the middle and learnt that the rear-guard was actually attacked, but as we rose upon freer ground we soon galloped out of sight of the enemy, who were on foot; it was under such critical circumstances that we entered the hostile country.

On our further march towards Châlons-sur-Marne we met with no opposition, and as we rode quietly forward we enjoyed a most animated conversation. General Haake was most courteous to me, as well as his officers, among whom I found some highly cultivated men, especially Major v. Kürssel, chief of a battalion; he was fond of poetry, and early in the campaign had composed and arranged some songs to animate his troops; they were soon learnt by every man, and when sung in full chorus, the whole force joining, and the poet himself leading with his fine voice, the effect was truly inspiring.

We had quartered for the night in the small town of Commercy, and by an early march arrived at a place where the road winds spirally upwards round a steep portion of the Sandstone Mountains: before us the cavalry were seen mounting the winding paths of the steep acclivity; their brilliant cuirassier uniforms and perfect equipment gave to the scene the character of some splendid pageant. The procession mounted leisurely and in unbroken order, covering the whole face of the ascent; the morning sun shone on their helmets and flashed from their weapons, and as they approached the summit they poured forth a glorious and loud song of triumph, which resounded in rich harmony through the deep vales below, and was returned by many an echo from the distant hills—it was a splendid spectacle.

In Vitry we halted a day, and received the first news of the serious battle fought by General v. York at Château-Thierry; we obtained only broken scraps of news regarding it, which made us anxious about our own position. It was said that a Russian

corps had been cut off and nearly dispersed, and this report probably related to that of General Alsusief. Even Blücher's position appeared to us highly critical, and our own advance dangerous, since the whole country was said to be in activity; we knew, however, that it was natural for the inhabitants to try to increase our perplexity by exaggerated statements, and we therefore listened as little as possible to their reports: they actually defied us in Vitry, and it needed all our force to keep their bitter animosity in check. I was with some officers in a farm-house near the town, standing in the sitting-room of the owner; the farmer and his wife were both present, talking civilly with us, when an audacious-looking man, apparently a farming-servant, entered; he scarcely noticed us, and in the presence of his master and mistress threw himself with his hat on upon a sofa. This seemed to surprise our host and his wife so little, that, though rather startling to our German ideas, we concluded it must be the custom of the country, and probably one of the consequences of the Revolution, through which many courtesies had been banished from domestic life. The sullen boor at last addressed the host as if we had not been present; he heaped report upon report of our utter defeat in every quarter, and said that Blücher's entire army was destroyed, or flying in wild confusion. I confess I felt awed by the man's audacity; we pretended, however, not to have heard him, since the remarks were not addressed to us; we pursued our conversation with our host, asked for breakfast, partook of it leisurely, and remained much longer than we had at first intended. That we proceeded towards Châlons with some anxiety may be well imagined, and our anxiety increased on meeting some scattered Russians, who seemed surprised at our composure and the direction in which we marched, it being towards the point from whence they were hastening. They were foot-soldiers, and made us understand that they had received orders to rejoin at a meeting-place farther south, they therefore could not join with us, though they were much exhausted: we did not dare to alter our course.

It was dark when we reached Châlons, and we did not venture to enter the town, but rested a few hours, meaning to push forward again during the night to Bergières, near Bertus, where Blücher's head-quarters were posted. We rode on

through the night in continual danger of being attacked ; I was in the midst, or, perhaps, farther back, and our march was interrupted almost every minute, but whether by the enemy or by other impediments I could not ascertain. It is esteemed a grave fault, and one which among the men is always severely punished, for a rider to sleep on a march, for the sway of the sleeper's body hurts the horse. I was so thoroughly worn out that it was impossible to keep awake ; I therefore got off, as we were going slowly, and many other officers did the same, and we slept as we walked ; we were only roused when any impediment caused a halt. The march continued the whole night, and by break of day we were in Bergières, at Blücher's head-quarters.

We found all in movement ; an advance towards Etoges was projected, but I was completely exhausted, and, throwing myself on the straw which an officer had just left, fell fast asleep, and my servant did the same. A friend had undertaken to waken me in two hours, and though it cost me much to rise and move again, I was strengthened by the sleep, and at length, in company with the advancing staff, was able to greet the friends from whom I had been for three months parted ; but our circumstances were so pressing, and demanded so much of our thoughts, that I learned little of the past or of the present position of the enemy, or of the truth of the numerous reports which had reached us. The usual confidence, however, still reigned in Blücher's party, and I found myself beginning to believe that all was prosperous and hopeful, and even that we were on the certain route for Paris, though we might yet have to fight our way. I heard only vague mention of the battle near Brienne, where it seemed that Blücher himself had been in considerable danger, and had extricated himself with difficulty from the castle where he was attacked. It seemed that he had also escaped a similar danger in Etoges.

I inquired into the changes which had taken place at head-quarters since I had been absent. Raumer was there ; and to my surprise and joy I found my friend Blaue, he with whom I had shared in all the dangers, fears, and hopes of the unhappy time when Halle was first taken possession of by the enemy and the University dissolved. Since he had been liberated from prison in Cassel he had sought to obtain an appointment as

military chaplain, and by Gneisenau's advice had joined Blücher, ready for any that might become vacant. He wore a dark overcoat, under which a sword was hidden. Thus, in this strange war, we two, a preacher and a philosopher, rode side by side armed for the fight; we were soon absorbed in earnest discussion of the great changes which we and the people had lived to see since we had parted.

It was past noon when we reached Etoges; it appeared to me that fighting was going on in every direction, but we still pressed forward, and quartered for the night in the village of Champaubert, on the broad, but far from well-kept, road on the lesser route to Paris. During the whole war I was never so wholly in the dark as to our place and prospects: our army was scattered about in various parts of northern France; I was destitute of all local knowledge; from the rapidity of our movements I could not refer to maps, and I felt this uncertainty so oppressive that I got little repose though we halted for the night. The troops were again in movement at the earliest dawn; the broad road led through the village, and some detached houses seemed to indicate the approach to Paris: they were not handsome, but had a metropolitan look. I noticed a sign over a house, which in the German language proclaimed it to be a "refuge for wandering tailors:" we were going towards Montmirail.

Blücher had not yet discovered that the Generals v. York and v. Sacken had been forced back beyond the Marne; he believed that he should have been able to co-operate with their divisions, and therefore ventured to defy Napoleon himself, who had concentrated his army near Montmirail. Early in the forenoon we found ourselves on the side of a hill which hid the town from our view. I gathered from some whispers which reached my ears, and from the hasty movements of the adjutants, that Blücher had just learnt that Napoleon held the Marne invested by so strong a force that it was impossible for the Generals v. York and v. Sacken to attempt a passage. A few cannon-shots reached us, and a horseman close to me was struck; I looked involuntarily round, and saw him fall with his head frightfully shattered.

Our retreat began immediately towards Champaubert in pe

fect order. The hollowed ground did not permit us to see anything beyond us; I could perceive little even of our own troops or of the direction we were taking; but the heavy, constant cannonade, and the riding to and fro of single horsemen of the enemy, convinced me that engagements were taking place all around during the retreat. I was with Blücher and his staff, who, separated from the main body, and escorted by only a few troops, brought up the rear. Then we saw the enemy on the hills on both sides. Grenades burst close to us; cannon-balls fell thicker into the midst of us; the musketry began, from the closer approach of the enemy, to be destructive; and even some single cavalry soldiers tried to hew their way into the midst of us. They were wrapped in white cloaks, and wore immense bear-skin caps, which half covered their faces. As soon as I was able to observe the small number of troops which accompanied us, and how we were attacked in every way, the extremity of our danger stood revealed to me. Exhausted by the exertions of the previous days, I rode up to Blaue: my field-flask was empty, for I had shared it with many. "Will you bestow one glass on me from yours?" I said to him. "I will divide all that remains with you," he answered; "it is the last that we shall ever drink together;" and he said this with the greatest calmness possible.

We rode through Champaubert; but before we reached the place many of those bear-skin caps rode close up, as if ready to seize upon us. In that critical moment the personal courage of the great commander blazed forth. "I will give it the fellows," he exclaimed; and we saw him dart upon an approaching horseman. Many hastened after him, but the horseman had fled.

On the other side of Champaubert we were on a meadow which was separated by green hedges from the road on our right. The forest through which the road lay between us and Etoges was at some considerable distance before us; the last retreating Russian guns were just disappearing in the wood; two battalions of Prussian troops were posted to protect us on the meadow, and one cannon served by Russians remained also near us. The enemy pressed on us more and more, and the time seemed near when it would no longer be possible to reach the wood, and get up with the main body. The battalion formed a square, and maintained their position with amazing firmness. The Russian

artillery officer loaded, fired, and loaded again, and was asking Müffling, who was near, which way he had better point the gun, when the cry was suddenly heard, "We must separate; every one must save himself as he can." The first care was by all means to save the leader: the principals must gather round him; the rest make off as they could. Then I heard Müffling shout, "We must all hold together." The staff placed themselves instantly in the ranks; the battalion closed up, determined to risk everything. The Russian officer charged his gun again, and we bore down in full gallop against the enemy, who stood before us. They gave way. I think they had not looked for such a charge. Perhaps in the dusk, which did not admit of ascertaining the extent of our force, they might have supposed that we had received a sudden reinforcement. We reached the wood in safety.

The last Russian guns were passing along the road which led through the forest. We separated again, and made our way singly among the trees as well as we could to the right. On the left the enemy's cavalry tried to press upon us, but the space was too contracted for any general attack, and it was hard to distinguish friends from foes. The Russian artillerymen knocked down many French horsemen with the sponges with which they cleaned their guns.

Our progress thus through the forest in the dark night continued to be highly dangerous; though the thicket partly protected us, we knew not how we might be assailed either in front or rear. I was riding by Colonel Oppen, conversing with him, when some confusion took place behind us. He rode back to inquire the cause, and was never heard of again. Every possible attempt was made afterwards to ascertain when and where he fell, and to discover the body, but in vain. The army lost a most valuable officer, and I a friend.

The forest extends some miles without a break; it took a long time to retreat through it; at first we went slowly, but, though I cannot tell how it was managed, we got forward more and more quickly, and at last rode at full gallop. This fact was denied afterwards, and it was asserted that we never exceeded the usual trot, but I cannot be deceived. I remember my horse participated in the general eagerness to push forward, and being

but a bad rider I could not hold him, and I thus became entangled with Count v. G——, who was very angry, but I had no power to avoid it.

At Etoges the forest ended: we pressed still farther on, reached Bergières, and took possession of the same outworks which we had left two days before; no one troubled himself about any one else, but sought a resting-place as he could. Since I had left Vitry I had never slept except an hour or two snatched here and there, and I sank upon the hard-trodden ground in utter exhaustion. It was a sleep like death, such as in my whole life I never knew before or after. I felt at first a sensation as of some dreadful oppression, which I strove to resist, but in vain, yet it did not wake me, and I sank deeper and deeper into perfectly unconscious sleep. It was bright day when I awoke, and looking on the cloak in which I had wrapped myself I perceived stains of blood. I learnt that a man fatally wounded had been laid on some straw close by my side; while his wounds were being dressed he had rolled himself in his death agony upon me—his corpse lay still beside me. This incident, horrible as it was, affected me, after all that I had witnessed, but little, and the sleep had strengthened me astonishingly. I joined the party which surrounded Blücher, and found that the events of the preceding day had been less disastrous than my fears had painted them. The order of our retreat had not been broken, nor was the loss on our side very great.

Amongst those who accompanied our head-quarters was Sir Hudson Lowe, who has since been so much blamed for his severity in guarding Napoleon in the island of St. Helena. When I first saw him I was unfavourably impressed by his gloomy countenance, and by the morose silence which he always preserved. On this occasion he was entirely changed. The dangerous day, the discipline kept unbroken by the troops in the most threatening circumstances, the courage, the endurance displayed by all, seemed so admirable to the brave Englishman, that he dwelt on the recollection of it. His voice was now free and loud in praise. A most animated account was sent by him to the English newspapers of what we call the battle of Champaubert; in the French bulletins it is named the battle of Montmirail. He appeared truly amiable on that occasion, and I

have since always been ready to join those who have of late spoken freely in his defence. I believe, with them, that though cold in manner and inexorable where duty required him to be severe, he was really kinder and gentler than he appeared.

We retired still farther towards Châlons at our leisure; the pursuit was not continued; the divisions of Generals v. Sacken and v. York joined, and were united under the immediate command of Blücher. General v. York had retired earlier on Châlons, but had already left the place again when we entered it. We remained there some days in perfect quiet; I found myself again amongst my friends, C. v. Raumer, Blaue, and Stetzer, one of my former intimates in Halle. Many were the topics of absorbing interest which we discussed, and the sparkling champagne helped to raise our spirits. The hours flew like minutes.

The Prussians at first only looked upon the champagne as a sort of light beer. It happened that General v. York was blockading the town while Macdonald occupied it. V. York had separated from the latter General in the Russian campaign, and thereby had caused the outbreak of the definitive war. The blockading troops discovered a number of wine-cellars near the walls, which they broke into, and the quantity consumed was prodigious, the men having no idea of the power of the wine. When my friend Willison, who was adjutant to the General, went to inspect the outposts, he found the whole army in sleepy intoxication. General v. York laughed when it was reported to him, but his situation in the face of an enemy who would gladly have snatched a much-longed-for revenge, was serious enough. The quantity of champagne which was consumed that winter was wonderful; on the bare and dreary plains round Châlons we found the remains of broken bottles in such thick quantities as to be dangerous to the horses.

CHAPTER XIII.

French Bulletins—Distress in the Army—Failure in Discipline—Personal Hardships—Destruction by the Inhabitants—A French Villa—Napoleon's Chance neglected—Battle at Mery-sur-Saône—Negotiation between Blücher and the Sovereigns—La Ferté-sous-Jouarre—Laon—Remarkable Escape—Battle of Laon—Illness—Taking of Rheims—La Fère-Champenoise—Attack on a French Square—Splendid Defence—Junction of the Allies at Meaux—A French Spy.

1814.

THE marches and countermarches of our winter campaign in France were so alike, that, even were I able to record them all from memory, the recital would but prove uninteresting. A few sketches of the leading features will suffice.

We learnt by degrees how falsely our state after the battles of Brienne and Montmirail had been represented at Napoleon's head-quarters. At first we heard it only by reports, but, when some numbers of the 'Journal de l'Empire' fell into our hands, the reading of the bulletins afforded us immense amusement. By their accounts Blücher's army had been utterly annihilated. The troops under General v. Sacken and General v. York had also, after the battles of Château-Thierry and Montmirail, fled in consternation and been completely dispersed. A countryman and early friend of mine, Malte Brun, was with Napoleon, and as editor of the 'Journal de l'Empire' assisted in composing these bulletins. So strangely were men brought into opposition in this singular war.

The service during the inclement season became daily more oppressive to the troops; though no great actions were fought, continual skirmishes were taking place. The cold and wet continued to increase, and sickness prevailed, though I believe even to a greater degree in the enemy's army than our own. Through the exertions of the commissaries the want of provisions was not much felt generally, but it was severely so at head-quarters,

arising from the necessity of providing for the men first. It was taken for granted that we could help ourselves, and thus we were often left in urgent want. Money was sometimes scarce, and often useless when we had it; the villages in which we rested or passed the nights were nearly always deserted by the inhabitants, and sometimes burnt, so that nothing remained but the four walls of a house, and the chimney in the midst. If not destroyed by fire, we thought it a lucky chance when everything was not cleared away. A sack of potatoes, which we could roast in haste by a bivouac fire, was considered a great treasure. I and my friends for long together had nothing else than some slices of bacon toasted at the fire on the end of a stick. I remember one occasion when we found not only potatoes and an abundance of bacon, but a frying-pan; we feasted delicately and thankfully that day, yet sparingly, having prudent care for the future hour of need. Often as we thus formed a circle round the fire, toasting our bacon, V. Raumer and I used to recur to times of home and comfort, and think how shocked our wives would be were they to see how we then fared: at home such diet would have made me very ill; now, however, all agreed with me, and our spirits seldom failed, particularly when we were on the move. I still wore the uniform which I had brought with me from Breslau. I suffered much from want of change of linen, and the care of my beard was a cruel inconvenience, the accomplishment of shaving being one which I never could acquire. Nearly all the barbers in the towns were invalided soldiers; they flourished off the beard with a single stroke on each side, and I felt it a very serious affair to trust my throat so to the mercy of a hating enemy. When I did submit, I took care to have a friend present, but I often postponed the ordeal for a week or even a fortnight. Then from my childhood I had been accustomed to the peculiar cleanliness of the northern nations; I was quite unversed in the little practices for making a tidy show—how to bring outwards and make the most of the one little white part of the collar or shirt-front was a mystery to me, for I had learnt the carelessness which results from being really neat. I suffered much from these discomforts.

In March, when Napoleon was in our rear and all communication was nearly cut off, our want became greater, and

was felt severely amongst the men ; the discipline began at the same time to fail ; there was plunder everywhere ; houses were sacked, and the inhabitants fled ; plundering and scenes of violence were not always exercised only on the enemy. I remember once resting for the night at a village which had been deserted ; but in a yard of the farm-house which we entered we found a turkey. Our party, servants and all, consisted of about fourteen or fifteen. As we sat round the hearth in the large kitchen, by a bright fire, the pot with water and salt all ready for the turkey to boil all night, that we might enjoy a rich breakfast in the morning, a large party of Russians burst violently in : we tried to persuade them to desist from molesting us, but, though they saw that we were Prussian officers, they attacked us fiercely. We were discreet enough not to meet them with our drawn swords, and I had long observed that my arm was too weak to make any impression on a Russian shoulder ; I struck those who came upon me, therefore, crossways on the face. We succeeded in driving them away ; but we were assailed on several other occasions, and if the war had lasted much longer it was too plainly to be seen how such outrages would have increased.

More grievances at length oppressed me : there are always at head-quarters a number of young men, as geographical engineers, messengers, &c. ; these had found employment easily while the war continued in Germany, and was carried on with more care and rule : my position was similar to theirs, and I have to thank the leaders, who were personally acquainted with me and my former position, for having made me useful. In France, however, neither the people just alluded to, nor my friends nor I, could find any useful occupation. This feeling of being useless was truly painful ; generals and officers of distinction and their well-informed adjutants formed an exclusive circle ; it was right and necessary that they should do so—the time was critical ; all resolves had to be carried out on the instant ; that which was in contemplation was imparted only to those who ought to know it ; it was not mistrust nor changed sentiments which excluded me from the confidence I formerly enjoyed, it was the pressure of the moment. Yet I felt the position most oppressive : personal inconveniences increased ; to

make my situation still more embarrassing, the conversation of the young men with whom I was forced to associate wearied me, and, alas! it never ceased. In our marches and countermarches I was never left alone; six or seven, or even ten or twelve, officers were crowded together in one room, to lie all night on straw; pure air was what I never could dispense with: I remember when in Gotha being nearly killed with suffocation, when I and many others had to enter a wretched room which had been only just left by Cossacks, and I was compelled to pass the night leaning out of the open window; in France I was often obliged to do the same. My companions never ceased their talking till one after another dropped asleep, and changed the chatter into a chorus of continuous snoring; then I usually rose, laid my straw on the floor close to the open door, wrapped myself as well as I could within my cloak, and slept in the intense cold. As this state of things continued, as want of nourishment was added to our other miseries, and as I found that on no occasion could I withdraw to find in solitude means to recruit my shattered powers of thought, I fell into a state which may be described as really out of my senses.

In some handsome *châteaux* everything was destroyed, and many valuables hidden which were soon discovered; in the wine-cellars the doors were generally walled up, but it was easy to detect the new mortar, and indeed it proved more a temptation than a safeguard; these places were generally all discovered and plundered before the head-quarters arrived. Some of the *châteaux*, with the ruined remains of elegance and luxury, were a sad spectacle. We took possession of one where the care to render everything useless was very striking, even the feather-beds had been cut open, and the rooms were filled with down and feathers: we entered another just as General Brüne's Russians were breaking into the wine-cellars; instead of tapping the large wine-butts, they staved them in, and the soldiers actually waded through a sea of wine to drink it as it flowed from the casks. It has been related that during the Revolution a wine-cellar in Strasburg was attacked, and that a number of people were drowned in the flood of liquor; I believed in the possibility of the story as I looked upon the scene just described.

A very elegant villa, in which we passed the night before

our entrance into Meaux, left a vivid impression on my memory, the traces of tasteful luxury and domestic comfort were so striking in the midst of desolation. I fancied that the house had been prepared for an unusual assemblage of guests; in a distant part, removed from the receiving apartments, I found a library, great part of which had been industriously destroyed; the floor was covered with shreds of leaves and torn engravings; many empty shelves indicated that a considerable portion of the books had been conveyed away; yet everything gave evidence of a sudden flight which had stopped the process of removal. Concealed by a tapestry-covered door, I at length discovered the entrance to an enchanting boudoir; it remained untouched, exactly as the occupant had left it. It was circular, and surrounded by soft couches; opposite to each other were two copies of antique statues—the Apollo and the Gladiator; an elegant fauteuil stood near the window, and on the table near it lay open the Memoirs of Cardinal Retz; writing materials were ready for use, and some pencils lay beside a half-copied drawing. Amongst the rich trifles which covered the table was a note, apparently written in haste, on the subject of the approaching danger. I was still more surprised, as I passed into another chamber, to find statues, casts of limbs, modelling clay, and all the arrangements of a sculptor's studio. For many hours I was lost in contemplating this sanctuary of refinement—the abode of peace and cultivation; and I confess that I was attracted towards the possessor with feelings of sympathy and admiration, which were at strange variance with the national hatred which we had brought with us into France.

In general, however, the dwellings in the smaller towns were very unlike that which I have described; the greater number had been emptied, like the village cottages, and the bare cold chambers afforded scarcely more comfort than the bivouac. The cold during that winter was sometimes intense, and fuel often failed. I remember, late one evening, entering one of those rooms in Mery, when I was nearly frozen; we searched the house through for fuel, and found none; at last we determined to burn the few remaining chairs and tables: the destructive work must be done by ourselves, for the servants were engaged with the horses. I was just on the point of breaking up a chair, when it

struck me that my character of a middle-aged philosopher was in too glaring contrast with my occupation. I remembered the ominous words of Gneisenau, when, before the battle of Bautzen, he alluded to the state into which we all might lapse, should the war be long protracted. I thought of the daily falling off in discipline, and that the means of preserving what remained was continually growing weaker ; I refrained from assisting the growing evil by my bad example, and the chair was saved.

It was a subject of surprise to me that Napoleon did not continue the pursuit when we retired on Champaubert ; had he done so, systematically and with vigour, our danger would have been extreme ; he might have prevented our junction with the divisions of Generals v. York and v. Sacken, and thus have almost annihilated Blücher's force. The whole moral spirit which impelled the war would have sunk with him, our previous successes all have been reversed, and we might have been obliged, first, to accept a truce, and then an ignominious peace. This idea depressed me greatly, and it was therefore an unspeakable relief to my mind when the pursuit ceased ; not only because we were relieved from the imminent personal peril, but because it betrayed great want of power and resolution in the enemy. I have since heard many well-judging officers assert that Napoleon's want of resolution to follow up a line of conduct which must have compassed our destruction could only be explained by his having lost, after the battle of Moscow, all his former faith in his own invincibility ; the hasty flight after the battle of Leipzig would never have taken place had his old spirit not deserted him.

A considerable engagement took place before the town of Mery-sur-Saône ; we abandoned the town, through which the high road to Paris forms a wide street, because the resistance before it was too strong. The place was burning, and the ammunition-waggons were drawn through the flames. In the evening we reached St. Anglure ; the houses which surrounded the castle were also burning, and the showers of sparks were sent in glowing arches in every direction ; for the second time that day our ammunition-waggons were exposed to the danger of explosion. I thought little of it then, but the remembrance afterwards gave rise to some curious

reflections. I have often noticed how seldom a cannon-ball hits in the midst of a close conflict, while in peaceful times the chance shot from a fowling-piece finds its certain victim; so the myriads of sparks, free to light in every direction, seemed to withdraw and spare the powder. I do not remember, in the whole war, to have heard of more than one explosion. We had just entered Meaux, after our whole forces had united to march against Paris; a storm raged without, and there was a perpetual sound of the tramp of horses and the clang of arms; suddenly we heard, above all, a distant, low, tremendous roar, which shook the poor cottage in which we had taken refuge. I never learned whether the disaster occurred amongst us or the enemy.

In St. Anglure some important negotiations were carried on between Blücher and the royal head-quarters. Great apprehensions were entertained that we should have to join the main body, in consequence of the losses we had suffered at Brienne, Epernay, Château-Thierry, and Champaubert, and of the exhausted state to which so many marches and unfavourable circumstances had contributed. The main body was near to us in Troyes, and held an extended position southwards. Blücher and his followers were by no means disposed to relinquish the independent position they had maintained. The proposal was made for Blücher's army to combine with the Netherland forces under Winzingerode and Bülow, and for Blücher to be commander-in-chief over the whole. This was laid before the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia, who were both with the main body. Many were opposed to its reception, and preferred an armistice. Major v. Grolmann, one of the most distinguished officers in the Prussian army, was fully convinced of the necessity of pushing on the war till Napoleon's power should be crushed for ever. It had often been stated that the hostility was directed against Napoleon, not against France; and though Blücher did not exactly share that sentiment, he saw that France would be powerless if Napoleon were dethroned. Though acting in a subordinate capacity, v. Grolmann did much towards the success of the proposal. We had little rest that night in St. Anglure. V. Grolmann was continually flying to and from the royal head-quarters. I fancy the plan was then accepted; but until all was finally arranged we continued in suspense. Blücher

moved towards La Ferté-sous-Jouarre, where we remained some days.

We were at length ordered to cross the river, and found Blücher in the highest spirits: the order had arrived for him to unite with Bülow and Winzingerode, who were coming from Belgium, and to take independent command of the combined force. The army moved forward; an advance along the Ourcq was attempted, but was given up: it is well known how much this junction was facilitated by the abandonment of Soissons. I can record few incidents of that time; the tremendous crowd as we entered Soissons is the chief point which rests in my remembrance.

When we first joined Bülow's forces the appearance both of officers and men amazed us; they had passed a most comfortable winter in Belgium and the Netherlands, and had been well fed and clothed. What a contrast were Blücher's troops, exhausted by fatigue, marches, and bivouacs, thinned by want of food, and all in rags, and the old shoes worn till they scarcely covered the feet! The contrast with our new comrades made our state seem more pitiable than before.

Every possible exertion was made to reach Laon before Napoleon, who was also eager to advance and obtain possession of it before us: had he been able to do so, our affairs must without doubt have taken a most unhappy turn. On our march towards it, whilst the advanced body of the army was severely engaged before us at Craonne, Blücher's division, in their eagerness to push on, fell into a defile, the danger of which seemed to me terrific. I often thought that our troops were in a most critical position, but they never appeared so much so as at that moment. It struck me as a remarkable fact that, in spite of all efforts to gain intelligence, both parties in a campaign remain strangely ignorant of the real state of the enemy, and that their information generally fails exactly when it is of most importance.

We took possession of Laon. The town stands on a chalk hill which rises abruptly from an extensive plain, which it commands towards the north and west. It is difficult of access on all sides, and, as it was a most important position, Napoleon tried with all his might to force us from it; but the victory we gained there opened the road for us to Paris.

The mode in which I witnessed the battle of Laon was singular, and at least convenient. We were quartered on a family in the town, and rode out every morning, after a comfortable night's rest and a good breakfast, to the outside of the town, and planted ourselves on the edge of the chalk cliff, from whence we had a perfect view of the whole plain. Not far from the western gate of the town a hollow narrow road leads from the town to the plain beneath; the face of the cliff stretches out towards the left, where the ground is on a level with the town.

General Bülow's division was posted immediately under our heights; Napoleon made repeated attacks on him, and we could observe leisurely the conflicts which took place just under our feet. On the first day our heights were much exposed to the enemy's fire; but the nearness of our artillery and the great altitude of our position made it difficult for the enemy to direct their guns against us.

On the day of the severest fighting, Gneisenau and Muffling sat on chairs placed on the very edge of the precipice; Blücher, if I remember right, was ill, and remained in the town. It was a clear bright spring day; the extensive fruitful plain lay as far as the eye could reach before us strewed with villages. It was not one continued battle, but different corps of the enemy as they came in sight were attacked, and engagements were taking place at several points distinct from each other at the same time. We saw all with perfect ease. Sometimes two masses of infantry were fighting vigorously: we watched in the beginning the doubtful struggle; then we perceived that the victory leaned to our side, and at last that the enemy turned and fled. Sometimes our cavalry attacked a square, broke through it, and dispersed it. In some of the villages the enemy tried to make an obstinate resistance; we beheld them driven out and fly, while our troops dashed after them. In one place a Russian square was furiously attacked; they were shot at with musket-ball, while a mass of cavalry tried to hew a road into the midst of them; but they were not to be broken; they waved every way, and curved and bent, but always drew closer again into a dense mass as if they had been one single living body. It was a grand, a wonderful sight! They were held together by the strength of perfect obedience; the will of each individual seemed merged into that of

the whole mass. The generals themselves viewed the spectacle with amazement; Gneisenau was loud in his delight.

Close behind our seats was a mill; a grenade fell upon the mill and set it on fire; it burned behind our backs: henceforth the cannonade ceased, the enemy had forced their way to the cliff, and almost approached the hollow road; there, just at our feet, a tremendous attack took place from our side; we were obliged to bend over the brink of the precipice to watch the issue of the struggle. The French were driven back.

We were for three days together in this convenient manner spectators of the contest, and when the day's work was over we withdrew to a quiet supper. At the end of the third day Napoleon abandoned the attack and withdrew from before Laon.

A curious escape took place on that occasion, which was told me on such authority that, incredible as it seems, I cannot doubt it. In the heat of an engagement the horse of one of General v. York's officers was struck by a shell; it entered near the shoulder and was buried in the body; the animal made a convulsive spring upwards and threw the rider, the fragments of the shell were projected on all sides, and the torn limbs of the horse lay scattered round, whilst the man remained unhurt.

Blücher wished to refresh his tired men, for since we had left Châlons they had been fighting daily. I was not present in those engagements; I heard now and then the noise of the battle near us, as at Mery, but the distracted accounts which I collected confused my ideas, so that I can give no clear account of them.

As we remained in Laon without even the excitement of a contest, I fell into a state of mind and body which I can only attribute to complete exhaustion; I suffered from a nervous irritability which I tried to strive against in vain; the talking by day, and the snoring by night, were insupportable, and such a weariness of spirits overcame me, that even the object of the war had ceased to interest me. After I had dined one day with Gneisenau, I ventured to say a few words upon my state; I had made a principle of never obtruding myself or my wants and sufferings to notice during the winter, but I had now a fixed idea that nothing could cure me but some defined duty. I ventured, therefore, to entreat Gneisenau to employ me: "I feel," I said, "that my mind gets daily weaker; I fear to sink so low that I may

never be fit for service of any kind again." "My good friend," he answered, "the most active and most useful soldier must feel for weeks together that he is doing nothing: weariness is an inevitable element of the present war; I can understand, knowing your former life, that the trial is greater to you than to most; but take courage: Napoleon is at the last extremity; even some stupid blunder on our part cannot help him now; our campaign will soon be ended—in a few days, perhaps to-morrow, you may see that which will strengthen and restore you." The kind sympathy of this great and good man will be ever dear in my remembrance; he convinced me that my state of mind was the consequence of illness, and so it proved; I was seized with fever and obliged to keep my room. Blücher in the mean time left Laon and proceeded to Fisme, while a few troops only remained in Laon. It was impossible for me to march, I therefore remained some days in perfect quiet with my kind host and his family. I declined all medicine, being certain that my complaint was only utter prostration of strength from continual fatigue and exhaustion. I slept soundly the greater part of every day. My host furnished me with a few books, neither very interesting nor instructive it is true, but they soothed and tranquillized my spirits like a gentle tonic. I strolled out sometimes; I had scarcely seen the inhabitants before, and now, as they again filled the handsome streets, and traces of social life peeped forth, I felt refreshed with the remembrance of times of peace, and was soon convalescent.

Accompanied by my servant and my two militiamen, I rode towards Rheims; we met many parties of Russians and Prussians on the road, and I proceeded with my small escort as safely as if in a friendly country. As we passed by Sillery the Russians were in the act of pillaging the celebrated cellars of Madame de Genlis, and I was glad to taste the delicious wine of that much-esteemed authoress; I am compelled to say that I derived more satisfaction from her wine than from her books.

While I was sleeping away my time in Laon, Saint Priest had taken Rheims: Blücher had passed a few days there and had again left it. I remained for a few days there in the house of a wine-merchant, who treated us well; a room where I could rest quietly alone, and the opportunity of cleansing and repairing in

some degree my tattered wardrobe, helped to restore me to my usual health ; I was again all cheerfulness and eager for the war. I joined the head-quarters near La Fère-Champenoise, and there was present at a scene which I shall never forget.

It was nearly noon when, headed by General Pacthod, we attacked a large squadron. They were drawn up in a square before a morass and waited our onset. A few charges of our cavalry were repulsed, some guns were brought and the square was assailed with a heavy discharge of grape-shot : the brave firmness with which the enemy stood it was wonderful ; at length a large body of troops appeared on some considerable heights to the westward ; it was a corps of the main army. Our King and the Emperor Alexander were there. The enemy's square were quite surrounded, and could not retire, as they intended, upon the marsh behind them ; not only was the grape-shot continued, but a general fire from the troops was opened upon them. I was riding by General Gneisenau : he approached the enemy, threw back his cloak, and stood before the hostile line in his splendid uniform and decorations ; he addressed them, showed how hopeless their position was, and conjured them not to compel us to commit a useless slaughter ; they had but to look round to see how they were hemmed in on every side ; their heroism had already won our admiration, and they might surrender with untainted honour. While he spoke our guns had all been silent. The square closed more firmly up ; a few shots from them were the only answer. Herr von Thiele, now minister of state, was then sent as the King's adjutant, to make a remonstrance. The conduct of the brave men had amazed us all and excited the deepest interest. Our troops continued to arrive from every side of the wide plain, and the square was pressed on closer every minute ; the spectacle in the clear evening light became tragically grand.

The enemy's commander refused to listen to the King's adjutant. The latter was seized, and placed in the midst of the square, which stood more resolute than ever ; and he had to remain there, exposed to the fire from his friends. The square was now attacked on every side. Some cannon-balls from our main body fell in the midst of us. I can declare that I never thought of danger. I was wholly absorbed in the amazing sight

of a mass of men standing to defend themselves to the last from their plainly inevitable doom. We made a furious charge of cavalry. Gneisenau led it, and I followed him. The broken mass gave way, and I found myself at his side in the middle of the square. For one minute the enemy's fire ceased. At that moment a lady rushed up to us: she seemed to be the wife of one of the superior officers. The broken ranks were now trying to form again, while a few shots only fell about us. Compared with the former simultaneous defence of the indomitable troops, these few scattered shots seemed like sobs of the subsiding wind after a hurricane: we scarcely heeded them. The lady approached the General, craving protection. He seemed struck with compassion, and gave her over to my care. It was a serious duty, and a new one. I got off my horse, and had moved with her only a few steps, in the hope of withdrawing her to a place of safety, when one of the staff rode up, and asked what I meant to do. Confessing my uncertainty as to which way to turn, he claimed the office of protector, and I gladly surrendered it, hoping he might manage better for her than I could. In the short time I was with her she seemed more excited than terrified by the scene, and showed more manly firmness than womanly fear; but when the remembrance of the fate of those who were dear to her came over her, her grief broke out; and she wrung her hands, and seemed to forget all idea of danger for herself. The officer to whom I resigned her took her away, and I never heard again of her and her misfortunes.

Some minutes passed while I was thus engaged; when I returned the scene was completely changed. Here and there a few of the enemy still discharged their weapons in despair; but the square had disappeared; the prisoners were conveyed away, and the field was covered with the dead and dying.

A frightful barter followed on the scene of carnage. Russian lancers jumped off their horses, stuck their lances with the small flags into the ground to fasten their horses, and began to strip the bodies. Even the dying were not spared: those, however, to whom relief might yet be given were kindly treated and removed. While some were thus plundering, others were offering the articles for sale: boots, clothes, watches, &c., were bought as bargains by those who wanted them. A fine horse was offered to

me for a few dollars. I could not make up my mind to buy, but many called me foolish for not having done so.

I hastened towards the General, who was much elated. The advantage we had won was important. "Now, Steffens," he cried, "what has become of your ennui?" "If you keep me thus employed," I said, "I shall fear no return." Many years after I saw accidentally, in a list of those who had gained the Iron Cross, that I had received that honour on the occasion just described.

This most interesting affair closed the winter campaign. We advanced, through towns and villages which were well known to us, to La Ferté-sur-Jouarre. We passed the eventful forest of Etoges, and moved quietly and pleasantly one fine morning through the streets of Champaubert, and over the hills which on the day of doubt and danger had hidden Montmirail from sight. In two days we reached Meaux, and there the junction of the great army with the Silesians took place.

The press and confusion in the town of Meaux was frightful. From early dawn till late at night the endless stream was like the compressed waters of a swollen flood hurrying through a narrow passage between walls of rock: it poured on continually along the streets from one end of the town to the other. All the inhabitants were shut up in their houses; we did not venture into the throng. Cannon and ammunition-waggons, cavalry and foot, were pressed together close up to the walls of the houses. We were in a house in a rather long street, and, although the sight beneath us was truly wonderful, it became wearisome at last. A young officer thought it his duty to point out to the Field-Marshal that a man was stationed at an open window, taking note of the numbers of the troops. Blücher laughed out loud. "Let him be quiet; if he can keep count, and not lose his patience, so much the better; I hope he will reach Paris before we do, and take his news there."

CHAPTER XIV.

The Allies before Paris—A Dangerous Sleep—An Explosion—Armistice—First View of Paris—Reflections—Parisian Habits—Triumphant Entry—Fickleness of the French—Cuvier—Louvre—Undue deference paid to the French—Want of Money—My last Military Discipline—Curious Scene at the Grand Opera—Foreigners in Paris—Blücher—Petition to the King—His Majesty's Permission to return to Academic life—Last Difficulty.

1814.

WE stood before Paris; the position of the forces was unknown to me; the hills of Pantin and Montmartre hid the city entirely from us; Blücher's corps were fighting in the distance; the two hills were before us, the town of St. Denis just behind. Our head-quarters were assembled on a wide extended plain; but of the battle, and the state of Paris, I knew nothing. The day before I had made a long march, in a state of great excitement. I had passed the night without sleep; and as we stood there on the field, hour after hour, far from the troops, and unable to gain any clear intelligence, our impatience rose to a painful pitch; thrown back upon myself, I was at last overcome with a most provoking lethargy; we had left our horses farther back; I wrapped myself in my cloak and fell into a sound sleep.

When I awoke I found myself alone, I could not see a soul over the whole wide plain, and I saw cannon-balls thickly strewed all round me, which had ploughed up the earth. I knew not which way to turn, and it was long before I found head-quarters; they had moved to the right, closer to Montmartre. I then learnt that the generals had changed their posts because the enemy had observed them, and the cannonade had been hot upon the place. There had been some firing there earlier, and it must have been resumed while I slept; it had not waked me, and I had stood a good chance of a tranquil passage to another world. News of the advance of our army increased, and reports of the movements in Paris, of early attempts to defend the city, and

subsequent abandonment of the intention, became stronger. The French forces still sought to maintain Montmartre. It was again a lovely spring evening. Gneisenau, surrounded by some officers, stood on the plain, when a French officer approached—it was Bourgoing, son of the author, and he brought news of the armistice. Whilst he delivered his message a shell fell into an ammunition-waggon close by us; the waggon-driver cut the harness instantly, and galloped away. Bourgoing looked round very uncomfortably, but Gneisenau only moved slowly away. A tremendous explosion took place, the fragments flew in great curves above our heads, and Gneisenau quietly continued his speech; he gave me orders to carry the news of the concluded armistice to the Russian troops, who were still fighting at Montmartre.

I joined the advanced guard on the hill, which was thickly covered with bushes; they were still engaged, and it was some time before the dispersed riflemen could be recalled; the enemy withdrew at the same time, and a strange stillness succeeded. I mounted the hill; the Russians entered the city, and Gneisenau appeared a few minutes later.

Through the geognostic researches of Cuvier and Brongniart, I thought I was familiar with the locality of the hill of Montmartre and the environs, and I offered myself as guide to the General; we were both naturally burning with desire to behold the city of Paris, lying at our feet. I led him and his followers through a street, which, however, was closed up at the end with houses. "Paris must be there, that is quite certain," said I, as Gneisenau turned to me with a smile, and an inquiring "Well?" A great door stood just before us to the left; we passed through it, and found ourselves in a churchyard bounded by a low wall. The great city which we had conquered lay before us in the glowing evening light, and I stood by Gneisenau.

I folded my hands; a prayer breathed silently from my lips; it was the greatest, the holiest moment that I ever lived. Every incident of the eventful time since my secret and distant correspondence with Gneisenau first began in Halle—our concealed meetings in Breslau—the outbreak of the war—the whole campaign, with its confused events and brilliant victories, all swept before my memory; and now Paris, and with her the giant who had shaken Europe, lay powerless at our feet. I saw the mighty

city which for centuries had constrained and influenced the mind of Europe—the city which, till now, could call herself the greatest, the metropolis of civilization. My thoughts flew farther, and again they turned within. They reverted to the time when, as I greeted with enthusiasm the German soil, I had first perceived the coming storm. I remembered how I had traced it as it slowly rose, and how it at last broke over us; and now it had cleared away, and a cloudless heaven once more shone above us. The clear fine evening reflected the bright dream which entranced me.

I was quartered in Montmartre in the same house with General Gneisenau, and towards noon he came into my room with his look of kind perplexity. I saw plainly that he had something to tell me which he feared might be unpleasant. He spoke at first of various subjects—of scenes of the campaign—of acknowledgment of the small services which I had rendered—and plainly tried to put me in good spirits. At last the unwelcome message must be told:—"Dear Steffens," he said, "at twelve o'clock to-day the Emperor and the King of Prussia are to make their triumphal entry into Paris: those troops which have suffered least in the campaign are to attend; the officers will appear in full uniform." I interrupted him quickly, laughing; it was the last thing I should desire to make one of such a show—my appointments were not fit for a parade. I assured him that to be excluded would be far from an annoyance; my intention was to glide privately about Paris, and not to be a blot in the splendid spectacle. Some of my companions were as little producible as myself; we should take our chance to find our way, and doubtless we should find some German friends who would direct us. Gneisenau was satisfied.

We waited till the generals and officers, in their best array, together with the troops, had left the suburb. We then rode by a rough and steep road down into the Faubourg Montmartre. The streets were empty; we only saw a few persons who were hastening forward, and we thought it wise to follow the direction which they took. We thus reached the Boulevard at the moment when the Emperor and King were passing in slow and magnificent procession along the handsome row of buildings. Immense crowds thronged the streets which led to the Boulevard; but the military had taken care to preserve the line of procession perfectly

free for the conquerors. Every window was filled with spectators shouting forth acclamations, the ladies in their gayest dresses; white handkerchiefs waved from the windows, and a shower of white lilies fell from every story upon the victorious enemy. Every well-dressed man in the streets wore a white cockade. One would have taken the scene for the triumphant entrance of a French army which had annihilated a dangerous and detested foe. Yet at that very moment the hero who had subdued the whole continent of Europe, and who had made France the ruler of the nations, surrounded by but a few faithful troops, and deserted by his people, was sinking to destruction. I confess that in that moment the Parisians were contemptible in my sight. Napoleon had not been so received in Germany. Berlin had seen him enter with a silent but bitter rage. As we hastened silently along the Boulevard, the unworthy spectacle damped the joy of our own triumph; I felt as if partaking the disgrace, and hid myself in one of the deserted streets.

We had no distinct idea of which way to proceed, and had reached the Théâtre des Italiens when a young man addressed us: "Can you inform me whether Professor Steffens has accompanied the army to Paris?" What a confirmation of my belief that I should not be long without discovering friends! He was a young doctor of medicine of Leipzig, who was studying comparative anatomy in Paris under Cuvier. He joined us, and assisted us to find at least temporary accommodation in an hotel.

I learned from my new acquaintance that Cuvier had told his classes that I had given up science and all my studies, and had embraced arms as a profession. He was the first person whom I visited. He received me politely, but seemed shy and afraid. At length he confessed the cause. It was believed that I was commissioned to carry off the collection in the Jardin des Plantes. I assured him that such an act of violence would be contrary both to German feelings, and to their enlightened estimation of the use and meaning of such treasures; that the collection owed its value chiefly to the presence of the man who had arranged and who could illustrate it.

All the collections of works of art were thrown open to the conquerors. I hastened to the Louvre; there I found evidence

of the same apprehensions which had seized Cuvier, but which seemed to have been quieted by the assurances of the two sovereigns. When I entered, the Laocoon, the Apollo, and the Venus stood out in their places in the Great Hall, but were entirely enclosed in brickwork ; they were just being opened out again, the heads of the Laocoon peeped forth from their covering, and the proud face of the Apollo looked out above the wall. The Venus was half uncovered, and I saw her rise, not from the waves, but from the bricks.

Our relations with the French people still seemed to me most unsatisfactory and dubious. I must confess that the results of our great struggle brought both to me and many others a feeling of disappointment. I had expected and desired a gentle and respectful treatment of the conquered enemy in the midst of their splendid capital ; especially whilst surrounded by our army, my feelings would have advocated the greatest possible forbearance ; but when I saw that forbearance changed into adulation, when I saw our sovereigns take the attitude of leaders of barbarians, while they looked on Paris as the metropolis of the world, I thought of Attila before Rome, and my sorrow and vexation knew no bounds. I saw how our strength was injured in its holiest principle, how it was wasted and degraded into a servile subjection ; could the Parisians when they greeted our arrival have foreseen this, they might indeed have shouted out for joy ; how far off was yet our genuine victory !

It is almost impossible to give a clear account of those few agitated days, into which so many discrepancies were crowded ; on the second day I removed with my friend Häckel to another hotel. In order to authorize my stay in Paris, I was placed on the staff of the Commandant, it being, however, understood that no claims would be made upon my time. The small service which was attached to the appointment was performed by deputy. I was quartered in the palace of one of the emigrant nobles, at the corner of the Rue de Beaune and of the Quai du Pont Royal, just opposite the Louvre ; my windows looked upon the Quai.

One great inconvenience which was suffered in Paris was an

extraordinary want of money, and it was felt by persons of the highest rank, even by the King himself. We were the more perplexed because, with the exception of free quarters, we lived in all other respects as travellers, and our expenses were enormous. I went to the superintendent-general to complain of my destitution, but was not listened to. I left him with very angry feelings, and as I met at that moment two officers whom I knew, together with another who was a stranger, I mentioned my fruitless application, and vented my annoyance by some hasty and severe expressions which were not customary with me, and which I was in the habit of blaming when I heard them used by others to the commissariat; in fact, throughout the campaign that department had fulfilled their duties admirably under most difficult circumstances. My expressions would have been quite harmless if spoken only before friends, but, unluckily, I was deficient in the organ of discriminating uniforms; the third officer was a commissary. He hastened to complain of my conduct to his chief, from whom I received a most severe letter, informing me that he should lay a complaint before the field-marshal. I made a proper apology, but he reported me, and my annoyance was extreme; on the second day, however, I received an invitation from Blücher to breakfast with him; several officers were present, and he approached me with a cheerful countenance: "Steffens," he said, "there is a charge laid against you; you ought to know one must not d—— the d—— in his presence." I related my unhappy incapability of remembering uniforms; the party all laughed: oysters and champagne were brought, and partaken of in high good humour: thus my military career concluded with a charge and a punishment which I found extremely bearable.

An evening which I passed at the Grand Opera within a few days of our arrival is worth describing. I had succeeded in getting a place immediately before the orchestra; it was the first time I had seen a French theatre, and my admiration was great, as I leaned against the barrier which divided the orchestra from the pit, and watched the filling of the house. Some slight agitation, which began, first among a few, but which gradually spread to be more general, convinced me that other entertain-

ment was in preparation besides the performance of the opera. The opposite parties had in fact determined that evening on a national demonstration. Spontini sat in the orchestra just before me, and I perceived, to my surprise, that the music of two operas lay before him; neither was as yet set up, so I was able to read the titles; one was the *Triumph of Trajan*, the other Spontini's *Vestal*. I guessed that the choice between these was to decide the demonstration; and so it proved.

The uproar began: part of the audience clamoured for the *Triumph of Trajan*, the rest for the *Vestal*. As I afterwards learnt, the first had been proposed by the opera-corps, who were in the Napoleon interest: the public seemed divided—the two opinions balanced and wavered, and the supporters of each were deafening in their exertions. In Tieck's '*Puss in Boots*' an audience is represented as falling into a rage with the performance; a peace-maker appeared, and ordered the air from the *Zauberflöte* to be sung, '*In diesen heiligen Hallen kennt man die Rache nicht*'—'*Rage is not known within these holy halls*;' and the violence of anger was charmed into enthusiastic applause. An imitation of this scene was attempted in Paris; the song, '*Vive Henri Quatre*,' was played, many voices joined, and all applauded; the public seemed pacified, the curtain rose, and the chorus of Vestals appeared; a tremendous outcry, however, stopped the performance; the curtain fell once more and the contest began again more furiously than ever: men now appeared in the royal box, ladders were brought in, and the imperial eagle which hung in front was displaced in the midst of a stormy mixture of hisses, groans, and applause: more than another hour elapsed, while each party shouted, and the song was re-attempted at intervals with decreasing power, to still the raging tempest; at last, during a momentary pause, a voice cried out for a deputation to be sent to the Emperor Alexander, to represent to him that the public would be satisfied to submit to his decision. The strife continually increased in fierceness and intensity till the messengers who had been sent to the Emperor returned; as they leaned over the front boxes, perfect stillness succeeded to the noise. The Emperor sent word that whichever piece it might suit the pleasure of the honoured public to choose would be approved by him.

Since the contending parties seemed by this answer to receive a sanction for their strife, they renewed it with more vigour than before; there were times when I apprehended personal violence, and that our evening would conclude with a real tragedy. As the struggle became more serious a fresh message was sent to the Emperor, and an answer was brought back choosing the Vestal: the public instantly submitted to the imperial decision, and about midnight all settled themselves down to listen, with as much quiet attention as if it were the usual hour, and they had all just left their domestic occupations to enjoy the evening with their families; even between the acts all was orderly as usual, and, when a long ballet had succeeded, the large assembly separated without any further demonstration of feeling.

Paris presented a singular spectacle: everybody who had money and leisure poured into it from every quarter of Europe; and whilst the conquerors were treating the inhabitants with singular consideration, riches flowed in upon them from all sides. The number of English was very great.

As I entered Véry's one morning I found Blücher there with two of his adjutants; he was perfectly recovered and in high spirits, and asked me many questions about the newly broken out Norwegian war. Blücher was by no means a partisan of Bernadotte, his sympathy was all for Norway: he spoke with great animation, and treated me kindly and confidentially. When I was obliged to go I left Blücher still there: the room was filled with French and English, who had listened with curiosity to our conversation, though they could not understand a word. As I made my way out two Englishmen approached me respectfully: they concluded by my intercourse with Blücher that I must be in some important station, and asked timidly if that were really the great hero?—a great number of English had come to Paris on purpose to look at him. When I answered in the affirmative they turned towards the table where he sat, and were lost in contemplation; an ah! of admiration was all that I heard from them; they folded their hands, and I never saw such a picture of silent veneration; even I came in for a share of their admiration.

Then I imagined myself transported into foreign lands at a great distance from France. I thought to myself, would any one

believe me, unrenowned as I was, if I were to relate that I had seen the whole war by the side of Blücher? would they not regard it as an inconceivable invention? Round his head was bound every victorious laurel which had been plucked from Napoleon's dreaded brow; and must not some faint ray of honour glance on me, when I should oblige them to believe that such a happiness had been my portion?

When the Emperor Napoleon abdicated and was sent to Elba, I petitioned the King to grant me my release from military service; and as soon as the first credible reports of Napoleon's dethronement became general, I sent for a tailor to make my outer man myself again. I can hardly describe my sense of freedom when I put off my uniform; the long-worn dress was hateful to me, however I may have been honoured in the right to wear it; all my linen was sent to take a swimming-bath in the Seine, and I felt as if I were born again.

My petition received the following answer:—

“ Since it appears to me that you will now more effectually serve the State by returning to your scientific appointment than by continuing longer in your present position in the army, I grant your petition to be released from military service, and together with this discharge I join my assurance that I acknowledge with thanks the patriotic self-sacrifice with which you laudably preceded your fellow-citizens in the hour of danger.

“ FREDERICK WILHELM.

“ H. Q., Paris, May 5th, 1814.”

Blücher with some of his officers was preparing to go to London, and he proposed to me to accompany him. I was truly grieved to be obliged to decline this most kind offer. My circumstances would not permit the great expense which I must have incurred to have appeared in the midst of military splendour in that luxurious city. I therefore parted from Blücher, Gneisenau, and all the kind friends who surrounded them. As I took leave of them, the events which I had seen in the company of those great men swept before my thoughts in all their historical importance, and I was deeply affected.

At my request the minister of state had supplied me with a courier passport and a sum of money to defray my journey. I might have returned with the army, but my earnest longing to rejoin my family, and resume my quiet academic duties, increased daily, and prompted me to determine on an immediate departure. I must not omit to record my last dilemma. My passport had been made out to "The Second-Lieutenant and Professor Dr. Steffens." I protested against the arrangement of these titles. I represented that I must stand by my real profession, and not that which I had only provisionally followed. I asked my kind friend who made out the passport whether, supposing the title of Second-Lieutenant to be superior, I could in future designate myself Mr. Second-Lieutenant without disparaging my academic office. After much discussion on the point, I made a proposal which would avoid the question of the precedence of my two characters—that instead of Mr. Second-Lieutenant and Professor, &c. &c., I should be styled Second-Lieutenant Mr. Professor, &c. &c. This was adopted, and the difficulty happily obviated.

THE END.

